The Na

TN PRIZE TEN DD9AUG29 81 1 01
PERIODICALS DEPT
THE SHERROD LIBRARY
E TENNESSEE ST UNIV
JOHNSON CITY TENN
37614
**
MAY 26 1981

May 30, 1981 $1

EDITORIAL

LEFEVER ON THE WANE

At his confirmation hearings last week, Ernest Lefever, the Administration's designate as Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs, could cite only three violations of human rights worthy of public condemnation by the U.S. government—the seizure of the hostages in Iran, the imprisonment of Soviet dissident Anatoly Shcharansky and the shooting of the Pope. During his eight hours of testimony, Lefever was asked repeatedly by Senators on the Foreign Relations Committee if this country should also condemn political imprisonments, torture, "disappearances" and murder in Argentina, Chile, Guatemala, Pakistan, the Philippines, South Africa, South Korea or Uruguay. Lefever did his best to avoid admitting that there are such human-rights abuses in these countries. If there are, he insisted, quiet diplomacy is the answer.

Ernest Lefever's confirmation is now in doubt, and this is largely due to Jacobo Timerman's presence at the hearings. Timerman, who was in Washington to publicize his book *Prisoner Without a Name, Cell Without a Number*, is a former Argentine newsman now living in Israel who was arrested and imprisoned for twenty months by Argentine security forces. That he is alive today is attributable in large part to the efforts of Patricia Derian, the previous occupant of the post Lefever seeks, who was persistent in demanding to know his whereabouts.

Timerman symbolizes 20,000 fellow Argentines who were not so lucky—who disappeared forever after being seized by military gangs. His presence at the meetings was living testimony as to why Ernest Lefever should not be confirmed by the Senate: a man who believes that the United States should not condemn the torture of a Jacobo Timerman should not be Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights.

ZIA'S LAW
Eqbal Ahmad

'THE TIMES' AND THE I.P.S.
Aryeh Neier

MISSIONARIES' MISSION
Bill Wallace

GREAT TEACHERS
Clara Claiborne Park

MATTHEW JOSEPHSON
Thomas DePietro

MAURICE SENDAK'S ART
Jerry Griswold

USA INC. STEPS IN

SCUTTLING THE SEA-LAW TREATY

DAVID DICKSON

Late in February, Fred Iklé, head of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency under Presidents Nixon and Ford and now an Under Secretary at the Department of Defense, is said to have received a telephone call from Martin Anderson, chief domestic policy adviser at the White House. The pitch was relatively straightforward: would Iklé agree to help reverse the Department of Defense's support for the Law of the Sea Treaty? After seven years of protracted negotiations at the United Nations in New York City, the parties seemed on the verge of agreement. The Pentagon had been among the treaty's staunchest supporters because it would guarantee passage for its ships and submarines through the world's oceans and strategically important straits. In return, Third World countries would receive a share of the profits from deep-sea mining, collected and distributed through a new International Seabed Authority.

Anderson apparently told Iklé that the White House was having second thoughts about the treaty, on which recent progress had been made largely due to the efforts of President Carter's chief negotiator, Elliot Richardson, and was seeking support for a full-scale review. Iklé had little hesitation in agreeing with the White House's position, thought to have been largely based on arguments put forward by Director of Central Intelligence William Casey; it coincided with his own view that the freedom of the seas could be guaranteed by other means, and that access to strategic minerals was an important national security issue. On March 2, an interagency committee, chaired by Deputy Secretary of State

(*Continued on Page 665*)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LETTERS.

HOFFMAN FOR NATIONALIZATION

Fishkill, N.Y.

Fred Cook's excellent article on the realities of the giant energy corporations and their effect on the economy is one of the most important in some time ["The Coming Catastrophe," *The Nation*, April 25]. He points out in astonishing detail the trillions in profits these giants rake in while poor people, middle-income people and even the other 9,000 American corporations suffer. What Cook fails to suggest is what 85 percent of the rest of the civilized world has already done—nationalize the oil and gas industries.

Can you imagine what sense would be brought back to our economy if the profits were removed from energy? If we had a union that could bring the country to a standstill and disrupt the economy, its leaders would be in jail and the union broken up. But the Seven Sisters get away with literal murder (i.e., when old people freeze to death for lack of home heating oil). By nationalizing the oil industry we could not only instantly balance the budget but we could offer many badly needed social programs.

If we're such a democratic society, why don't we ever get to decide on the really important issues? Nationalization is, in my opinion, the single most important reform we should and, indeed, must make if we are to survive as a free society.

Abbie Hoffman

ASCOLI AND 'THE REPORTER'

Chicago

For many years I have been an occasional reader of *The Nation*. I frequently agree with its political point of view and admire the quality and style of its writing. However, I was greatly disappointed to read the opening paragraphs of Robert Sherrill's article, "Opening Day at the Subcommittee" [May 9].

Sherrill's attack on Max Ascoli was both factually incorrect and unnecessary. My father did not "kill" *The Reporter* because he feared "it would fall into the hands of some publisher not sufficiently anti-Communist." He killed the magazine because he was 70 years old, and *The Reporter* was losing subscribers and a great deal of money. Nor was Max Ascoli the rabid anti-Communist that Sherrill seeks to portray. In the days before "investigative reporting" became a household term, he wrote and published an influential exposé of the close connections between the Nationalist Chinese and the U.S. Congress of the early 1950s, the so-called China Lobby. My father was one of the loudest and most persistent critics of Senator Joseph McCarthy. It is true that he agreed wholeheartedly with President Johnson's Vietnamese policy. But he published a magazine that was balanced and judicious, not an extreme right-wing periodical.

Sherrill's blast against Max Ascoli seems completely unnecessary. The goal of his article was to analyze the opening session of the Senate Subcommittee on Security and Terrorism (S.S.T.). According to Sherrill, Ascoli's sole connection to the S.S.T. is that both Meg Greenfield and Claire Sterling wrote for *The Reporter* nearly fifteen years ago. Neither of them wrote any articles about terrorism. In fact, my father believed that HUAC was an abomination, and might well have opposed the very idea of the S.S.T.

In short, Sherrill's bitter and untrue attack on Max Ascoli, an argument that is entirely ad hominem, does nothing to prove his point about the opening session of the S.S.T. and is therefore both unnecessary and fallacious.

Peter M. Ascoli

GROUND THE SHUTTLE

Liberty Hill, Tex.

I am stunned and depressed by Steve Kargman's editorial advocating full steam ahead for the Space Shuttle ["Space for Peace," *The Nation*, April 18]. I had supposed that you stood for compassion toward the poor, less support of big business and (along with peace) a reduction of provocative international gestures. And here you are, advocating billions at the taxpayer's expense for gadgetry which can only be seen by the Russians as an escalation of military capability.

Expression of the pious wish that Columbia may be kept out of Pentagon hands by writing "PEACE" on it is the most fatuous kind of optimism.

And why "space" anyway? What is "space industrialization"? Is it something like the industrialization of breakfast cereals, or the industrialization of medicine? On the other hand, if it is just more elbowroom for manufacturing that you want, there is surely plenty of room in empty salt mines and on icebergs. The expense of getting into and out of space, and the awkwardness of working in zero-gravity, would certainly be about the biggest overhead available.

Finally (though it would seem that you must be adult enough not to need this admonition): Don't throw good money after bad.

Herman C. Johnson

KARGMAN REPLIES

Swarthmore, Penn.

Herman Johnson seems to echo the traditional liberal criticism of the civilian space program—that is, that it is a misplaced national priority which cuts into social welfare programs. Liberals have to recognize that the interests of their constituencies are not fundamentally served over the long run merely by clinging to their historic share of a constant or even shrinking economic pie. Rather, they have to begin to embrace programs, such as space industrialization, that will fuel an economic expansion and revitalization of the United States, thereby allowing us to maintain our commitment to a generous liberalism on the social front.

As to the very real threat of the militarization of space, it is clear that liberals should take the lead in vigorously opposing this alarming trend. But we should not give up on space simply because of the growing drive to militarize it.

Space industrialization encompasses a broad range of economic activities—particularly in the areas of communication, manufacturing and energy—which benefit from the unique physical qualities of space. Naturally, we will undertake only those activities that are far more economical than similar ones on earth.

I believe our investment to date in the space program has paid for itself many times over in creating new jobs and new industries. And yet we have hardly begun to realize the payoffs from space that will accompany space industrialization, with its special advantages for liberals and liberalism in the 1980s and beyond.

Steve Kargman

SIX-LETTER WORD

Bloomington, Ind.

Your magazine was born a pro-abolitionist publication in 1865, in the wake of the Civil War. Recently you indulged a smug Nicholas von Hoffman, who wrote in his essay on Time Inc.'s "American Renewal" series ["The Grunwalding of America," *The Nation*, March 14]: "It's impossible to divine from [*Time*'s] text whether [*Time* is] afraid to give guns to the niggers [in the U.S. Army] or they think they're too dumb to die for the country." Why didn't someone from your editorial staff tell von Hoffman to delete that word and thus its unique pathology of violence? Your staff certainly wouldn't have permitted him to write of guns for kikes in the Israeli Army. Far from being censorship, it would have been an exercise in good taste and sensibility. Von Hoffman is why some blacks (including yours truly but probably excluding Ben Vereen) feel drooling liberals are public enemy number two.

Robert E. Hayes

REPLY

We did not delete the offending word because, in our judgment, it was being used ironically to paraphrase the attitude of Time, *which the author was implicitly criticizing.*

—The Editors

The Nation welcomes letters—typed, double-spaced and no longer than 300 words, please. Longer letters may be edited for reasons of space.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CONTENTS.

Volume 232, Number 21

COVER
Editorial: Lefever on the Wane
USA Inc. Steps In:
Scuttling the Sea-Law Treaty — *David Dickson*

LETTERS
650

EDITORIALS
651 Social Insecurity
652 Genius Lottery
652 Cuban Castaways
653 Pontiac Brothers — *Bruce Shapiro*
654 *Central America Watch*
655 *Understatements* — *Christopher Hitchens*
656 *Dispatches* — *Elizabeth Farnsworth and Stephen Talbot*

ARTICLES
658 Crackdown on Justice: General Zia Is Now the Law — *Eqbal Ahmad*
660 Spiking the I.P.S.: An Open Letter to *The Times Magazine* — *Aryeh Neier*
662 Onward Wycliffe Soldiers: Missionaries With a Mission? — *Bill Wallace*

BOOKS & THE ARTS
669 Epstein, ed.: Masters: Portraits Of Great Teachers — *Clara Claiborne Park*
670 Warner: Joan of Arc — *Julia Epstein*
672 Shi: Matthew Josephson, Bourgeois Bohemian — *Thomas DePietro*
674 Sendak: Outside Over There — *Jerry Griswold*
675 Theater — *Richard Gilman*
676 Films — *Robert Hatch*

Drawings by M. G. Lord

Editor, Victor Navasky

Executive Editor, Richard Lingeman; *Associate Editors,* Kai Bird (on leave), Christopher Hitchens (visiting); *Assistant Editor,* Amy Wilentz; *Literary Editor,* Richard Pollak; *Assistant Literary Editor,* Elena Brunet; *Poetry Editor,* Grace Schulman; *Copy Editor,* Patricia Dowling; *Assistant Copy Editors,* Barbara Dudley Davis, Judith Long; *Editorial Assistant,* Eric Etheridge; *Editorial Secretary,* Ola Lyon.

Departments: Architecture, Jane Holtz Kay; *Dance,* Nancy Goldner; *Films,* Robert Hatch; *Music,* David Hamilton; *Television,* Peter Sourian; *White House Correspondent,* Robert Sherrill. *Correspondents: Latin America,* Penny Lernoux; *London,* Raymond Williams; *Paris,* Claude Bourdet; *Columnists and Regular Contributors:* Calvin Trillin (*Variations*), Thomas Ferguson & Joel Rogers (*The Political Economy*), Elizabeth Farnsworth & Stephen Talbot (*Dispatches*). *Contributing Editors,* Blair Clark, Gore Vidal. *Editorial Board:* James Baldwin, Norman Birnbaum, Richard Falk, Frances FitzGerald, Philip Green, Robert Lekachman, Sidney Morgenbesser, Aryeh Neier, Elizabeth Pochoda, Marcus G. Raskin, A.W. Singham, Roger Wilkins, Alan Wolfe.

The Nation is available on microfilm from: University Microfilms, 300 North Zeeb Rd., Ann Arbor, MI 48106.

Publisher, Hamilton Fish

Advertising Manager, Emily Bailen; *Business Manager,* Ann B. Epstein; *Bookkeeper,* Gertrude Silverston; *Art/Production Manager,* Jane Sharples; *Assistant to Publisher,* Laurie Lipper; *Circulation Manager,* Suzanne Noell; *Classified,* Susan Wanklyn; *Receptionist,* Greta Loell; *Mail Clerk,* John Holtz; *Administrative Secretary,* Shirley Sulat; *Nation Associates,* Claudine Bacher; *Nation News Service,* Jeff Sorensen; *Publishing Consultant,* Jack Berkowitz; *Circulation Consultant,* Deborah Begel.

The Nation (ISSN 0027-8378) is published weekly (except for the first week in January, and biweekly in July and August) by Nation Enterprises and © 1981 in the U.S.A. by the Nation Associates, Inc., 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10011. Tel.: 212-242-8400. *Subscription Mail Address:* Nation Subscription Service, P.O. Box 1953, Marion, Ohio 43305. Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y., and at additional mailing offices. International Telex: 667 155 NATION.

Regular Subscription Price: One year, $30; two years, $50; six months, $15. Add $5 per year postage for Canada and Mexico; $7 other foreign. All foreign subscriptions must be paid in equivalent U.S. funds. **Please allow 5-7 weeks for all subscription transactions.**

EDITORIALS.

Social Insecurity

We must begin to take seriously the Reagan numbers game. Its rough sums are being forced on us, down to the very bottom line. These social calculations are part fantasy, part cruelty and all deception. There is not an honest figure nor a straightforward assumption in the entire hodgepodge of budget and taxation with which Congress is now fumbling. It adds up to deprivation plus inflation, in the name of controlling the latter. Its dividend is social insecurity in the name of national security.

Take as a random example the front page of *The Washington Post* of May 16. The top column headline reads "SOCIAL SECURITY CUTS COULD REACH 25 PCT. OVER NEXT 75 YEARS" (yes, seventy-five years). The story is an earnest attempt to tell those Americans who will be born ten years from now that they will face hardships in 2056 when they retire. In other words, these unborn twenty-first-century Americans should not count on what Reagan now metaphysically tells them they can expect from their future investment in Social Security. *The Post* reporter was trying to force through his filter of objectivity the news that the Reaganauts are lying through their forecasts, as if that were news. Perhaps the story should be seen as a warning to generations yet unborn not to be born, a kind of fiscal abortion by projection, tidier than amending the Constitution.

To return to this century: lower down on that same page appears the headline "SCHOOL LUNCH PRICES HERE MAY DOUBLE." That could happen next year, says the story, as a result of the Reagan Administration's efforts "to stop taxpayers from subsidizing the lunches of middle- and upper-income students." There would seem to be more decent ways of disproving the proposition that there is no such thing as a free lunch—more than two-thirds of the students in this random slice were found to be needy, if not all "truly" so, in the nice distinction of Stockmanism.

The Sherrod Library
EAST TENNESSEE STATE UNIVERSITY
Johnson City, Tennessee
MAY 26 1981
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

These nasty little fiscal facts keep cropping up in the back pages of the press as the Reaganauts work to "get a handle" on the economy and to "get the government off our backs," and the people flat on theirs. City after city is shown to be in hopeless trouble, abandoning one public service after another because of combined local, state and Federal tax-cutting. From time to time the notion of "infrastructure" pops up in the establishment press and is seen to be radically deteriorating. But the reigning wisdom is that Americans are no longer willing to "pay for civilized society," to use Justice Holmes's definition of taxes.

Exactly a century ago that paladin of conservatism Otto von Bismarck convened Prussia's National Economic Council for the first time, to deal with the social problems of the modern industrial state through such devices as workers' insurance. Bismarck aimed to forestall real socialism with what he called "state socialism." Reagan & Co. might reflect on that as they dismantle our Social Security system.

Genius Lottery

It was like an episode from the old TV series "The Millionaire"—or was it Mark Twain's *The Man That Corrupted Hadleyburg*? The John D. and Catherine MacArthur Foundation announced that twenty-one "geniuses" were to receive grants ranging from $24,000 to $80,000 annually for five years, with an automatic raise of $800 in each of the years. None of the recipients had applied for the grants; they were nominated by a committee of 100 "searchers." There were no strings attached—no forms to fill out, no progress reports to be submitted, no final work to be handed in. All the MacArthur Foundation wanted, ostensibly, was the privilege of endowing creative men and women in literature, the arts and sciences in the hope that they would produce "discoveries or other significant contributions to society." Explained Roderick MacArthur, son of the late John D. MacArthur, the insurance billionaire: "If only a handful produce something of importance—whether it be a work of art or a major breakthrough in the sciences—it will have been worth the risk."

Although we were pleased to see the poets Joseph Brodsky and Derek Walcott, psychologist Robert Coles, paleontologist Stephen Jay Gould and others receive this largess, we had to marvel at the grandiose design of the awards. The hullabaloo surrounding the whole thing smacked of an intellectual super-lottery. We weren't told if the recipients needed the money, or if they had any major project in mind, or why they were considered more worthy of "the risk" than, say, unestablished poets or scientists. (And why only three female "geniuses"?) "It's a high-risk venture," MacArthur was quoted as saying, using the word "risk" twice in the same interview, but who was risking what? Was the foundation with its $840 million endowment risking its tax-free money? Foundations are supposed to give away money, after all. Did MacArthur mean that the payoff on the risk would be, say, four or five certified works of genius within a five-year span? Goethe's *Faust* took thirty-some years to complete; William Saroyan's *The Time of Your Life* took six days.

We mention Saroyan because he died the same day the awards were announced. A contributor to this magazine, he once rejected a Pulitzer Prize for *The Time of Your Life* on the ground that, as *The New York Times* obit put it, "businessmen were not qualified to judge art. He did not think highly of critics either. Nor of producers and directors." What, we wondered, would this irascible, independent genius have thought of the MacArthur Foundation? Perhaps he would have quoted from *The Time of Your Life*: "No foundation. All the way down the line."

Cuban Castaways

Pedro Rodriguez Fernandez has been confined in a Federal prison at Leavenworth, Kansas, since June 16, 1980, and he may be kept there for the rest of his life. The Federal government has not charged Rodriguez with any crime, but it says that he cannot contest his imprisonment in any way—not even by filing a writ of *habeas corpus*. The government's contention is now being considered by a United States Court of Appeals.

Rodriguez got into this fix by joining last year's "freedom flotilla" from Cuba to the United States. Like the 130,000 other Cubans who came to the United States at the same time, he did not have an immigration visa. When he was interviewed in connection with his application for political asylum, he confessed that, many years ago, he had served time in prison in Cuba for petty theft and attempted burglary. He was immediately sent to Leavenworth. By law, the United States could exclude Rodriguez. Indeed, he has waived his right to contest a finding of excludability. But although he can be excluded, he cannot be deported, as the government concedes, because Cuba won't take him back. Not knowing what else to do with him, apparently, the United States is keeping him in prison.

Last December, a Federal judge held that because Rodriguez is an excludable alien, he is not really in this country, legally speaking; therefore, he cannot claim the protection of the Constitution or of the laws of the United States—a logic that resembles the wilder flights of Lewis Carroll. The same Federal judge did hold, however, that Rodriguez's continued "arbitrary detention is prohibited by customary international law." The government wants the Court of Appeals to overturn this part of the ruling.

The Cubans who came here last year shamed the government they fled. By its treatment of Pedro Rodriguez Fernandez and the other Cubans in prison at Leavenworth, as well as the 1,800 Cubans still in the old Federal prison at Atlanta, the U.S. government shames itself. The Court of Appeals can make the words "freedom flotilla" a little less ironic by finally according Rodriguez the protections that the U.S. Constitution and the law entitle him to and upholding his human rights under international law.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Pontiac Brothers

The first act of a major political and racial drama closed on May 9 in a Chicago courtroom. Ten Illinois black men were acquitted of murder and conspiracy charges arising from a prison revolt that state officials admit was an inevitable result of overcrowding and inhuman treatment. Another six are still under indictment and are scheduled for trial in June on similar charges. They face the electric chair if convicted.

The sixteen, who are known collectively as the Pontiac Brothers, were inmates at the maximum-security Pontiac Correctional Facility in central Illinois when a riot broke out on July 22, 1978, in which three guards were killed. Pontiac is part of a state prison network that the U.S. Justice Department charged, in a 1978 lawsuit, maintains conditions amounting to "cruel and unusual punishment." A 1977 State of Illinois study classified Pontiac as overcrowded and structurally dangerous. Built over a century ago to hold 600 prisoners, at the time of the revolt it had more than 2,000 inmates; prisoners were crowded two, sometimes three together in 5½ by 9 foot cells designed for one. Temperatures in Pontiac's cell blocks in July 1978 hovered above 110 degrees. Garbage often went uncollected and in the heat became a serious health hazard.

Eleven hundred inmates took part in the July riot. The three guards killed were stabbed with homemade weapons. Two others were injured. Buildings were looted and burned. Ultimately, property damage was estimated at $4 million. The prison was retaken after five hours by Illinois State Troopers. There was no resistance, but many inmates were beaten.

Initially, state officials agreed that the revolt was, in the words of Charles Rowe, director of the Illinois Department of Corrections, "a spontaneous antiauthoritarian move." Nonetheless, perhaps because of the political liability of an unworkable prison system, Gov. James Thompson began a search for scapegoats. He declared that the rebellion was organized and led by black street gangs which "run the prisons." Immediately following the revolt the entire prison was placed under "deadlock"—inmates were confined to their cells twenty-four hours a day. The deadlock was maintained for seven months.

Under these hellish conditions, the Illinois Department of Law Enforcement, which assumed control over Pontiac at Governor Thompson's behest after the riot, began its investigation of the incident. In the rebellion's aftermath, prison officials had thrown clothing, weapons and other potential evidence together in one pile, making identification impossible, so the state's case had to depend entirely on oral testimony by eyewitnesses.

The state investigators have admitted they threatened noncooperative inmates with a protracted deadlock or even the death penalty. No lawyer was ever present during any of their 1,500 interrogations. Prisoners who cooperated were rewarded with special treatment. Those who provided testimony or names helpful to the prosecution won a transfer to minimum-security facilities or early parole. Eventually, the names of seventy prisoners were compiled for possible prosecution in the guards' deaths. This list was narrowed to the sixteen inmates who were indicted.

The legal preparation of the case was as irregular as the investigation. The indictment drawn up by state prosecutors contained no bill of particulars—no indication of which individuals supposedly committed specific actions or crimes. The presiding judge, Benjamin Miller, reputedly a personal friend of Governor Thompson, was appointed to the case by the State Supreme Court. In pretrial rulings he consistently sided with the prosecutors. Miller upheld the vague indictment. He ruled early on that only individuals favoring capital punishment were eligible for consideration as jurors, held that he alone could question potential jurors during the four-month selection process and denied a defense motion for separate juries for trial and sentencing.

The trial began March 6 and ran for thirty-five days. Prosecutors pursued the "gang" motif, claiming the revolt was a device planned to unify rival gangs. Prosecution witnesses repeatedly contradicted one another's testimony, undermining the credibility of the state's case. The only guard witness, Danny Dill, accused three Pontiac Brothers of stabbing him and another guard during the riot. But Dill admitted that he had lied to investigators, changed his story at least twice in the past and made accusations against more than a half-dozen inmates who were subsequently not indicted. The key inmate witness was Angelo Robinson, whose case was severed from that of the other Pontiac defendants when he agreed to cooperate with the prosecution. (An eighteenth defendant is still a fugitive at this writing.) Robinson's testimony was undercut when defense attorneys proved that a discussion of gang affairs between two defendants he described had never taken place. Other inmates confirmed reports of preferential treatment in return for testimony, or told of pressures by state investigators. For example, an epileptic prisoner said he had been denied medication in the first days of the investigation. Presented with this kind of testimony, the jury took less than an hour to arrive at a verdict of innocent.

In the wake of the acquittal, it is possible Illinois will drop the charges against the six remaining Pontiac Brothers. Already the unsuccessful case has cost the state more than $2.7 million—one of the most expensive prosecutions in Illinois history. The Pontiac Brothers are the largest group tried for capital crimes since World War I. One is reminded of another famous Illinois prosecution, nearly a century ago, of the anarchists wrongly charged with complicity in the famous Haymarket riot in Chicago. One of the defendants, sentenced to hang, quoted words uttered centuries before by a Venetian doge—words that could as easily be a motto for the Pontiac Brothers: "My defense is your accusation; the cause of my alleged crime, your history."

BRUCE SHAPIRO

Bruce Shapiro writes for Haymarket, *a Chicago community magazine.*

TSU LIBRARY
LICENSED TO UNT FOR
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CENTRAL AMERICA WATCH.

In San Salvador people remark on how quiet things seem, but most of them add that this will last only until the rainy season takes hold in June. With the advantage of heavy foliage as ground cover, the guerrillas are expected to undertake a general offensive, probably not as ambitious as the one in January.

In the meantime, the government is pursuing a three-pronged offensive of its own. The first prong is concentrated in the capital and consists of the junta's most intensive international public relations efforts to date. Stung by what they describe as a "conspiracy of Communist lies in the international press," government officials are granting unusual access to foreign journalists and placing great stress on the elections scheduled to take place next year. Officially, every political group "that subscribes to the democratic process" will be allowed to participate, including several of the opposition parties whose top-level leadership was captured and killed by combined government forces last Thanksgiving.

For many in Salvadoran business circles, the elections are the subject of serious doubts and thought to be directly tied to the continuation of U.S. military aid. The most prominent lawyers' association publicly refused to take part in the drafting of electoral legislation recently, claiming, to the junta's embarrassment, that fair elections would be impossible "under the current political conditions." One of the purposes of election talks, of course, is to counter the opposition front's calls for a mediated settlement as a political solution to the conflict. Archbishop Arturo Rivera y Damas has expressed support for both mediation and elections, and continues to offer his services toward a mediation effort. His offers have been steadfastly spurned by members of the governing junta and armed forces.

Clearly, the government's military strategy does not take into account the possibility of mediation. Over the past few months the army made a sweep of the northwestern provinces of Ahuachapán and Santa Ana, which were secondary guerrilla strongholds. Government forces are now mobilizing around the volcano of Guazapa. Their hope is to wipe out the guerrillas in the high hills before the heavy rains, and then move on to the areas where the guerrillas have virtually unchallenged control, mainly the northern and eastern provinces of Chalatenango and Morazán. Guazapa is now undergoing heavy daily shelling by 85-millimeter and 105-millimeter howitzers. Although some effort has been made to evacuate the tiny but heavily populated townships, civilian casualties remain extremely high.

Refugee camps in the area are jampacked and understaffed, and relief workers report that truckloads of soldiers arrive several times a month to round up suspects among the refugees. Many of the adults have fled the camps, leaving the relief workers with a population that is up to 80 percent children. The Salvadoran Green Cross, the organization doing the bulk of relief work in the camps, reports that international aid has been scanty. What little has been sent is frequently intercepted by junta forces.

The third government effort has been directed against local opposition leadership. On the one hand, there has been a highly publicized effort to institute vestiges of due process. As a result, more suspects are being arrested, arraigned, investigated and even, in some cases, released for lack of evidence. But there is still considerable violence attributed to government security and paramilitary forces, and every neighborhood continues to have its weekly toll of headless or mutilated corpses, which appear in spots perversely calculated to provoke terror (the week before last two of the most horribly mutilated were laid out in front of a primary school twenty miles north of San Salvador). Only a fraction of the killings are reported in the newspapers, but by combining the reports one can arrive at an estimate of an average of at least fifty deaths a day in the country.

■ **Last year alone, nearly 60,000 Salvadorans fled escalating violence in their country and sought refuge in the United States, according to the United States Immigration and Naturalization Service. More than 11,000 refugees are now being detained in I.N.S. centers across the country, and in the first three months of this year the U.S. government deported some 1,200 refugees to their violence-ravaged homeland, reports Mark Alan Pinsky, an aide to Representative Ted Weiss of New York.**

Many refugees have no homes to return to, having either abandoned them or been forced from them by the fighting. They have no immediate prospects for resettlement and little hope of resuming the lives they were forced to flee. Reports from El Salvador indicate that some refugees who are deported face torture and possible death at the hands of the government. Lawyers from the Los Angeles-based National Center for Immigration Rights report they have collected more than 100 affidavits from Salvadoran refugees documenting random violence and political repression by their government. There is also evidence of possibly illegal practices by the I.N.S. to deny refugees their rights to apply for political asylum and to have deportation hearings.

Under a provision of the Immigration and Naturalization Act of 1952, certain refugees can be granted "extended voluntary departure" status. This status was routinely provided in the past to refugees from Vietnam, Iran, Laos and Nicaragua. But before it can be given to the Salvadorans in this country, Secretary of State Alexander Haig must make a recommendation to the commissioner of the I.N.S. Only then can the commissioner act, on behalf of the Attorney General, to offer this temporary haven.

What prevents Haig from making the necessary recommendation is that it would constitute an official admission that the present U.S.-supported government of El Salvador has been involved in the unjustified harassment and brutal death-squad murders of innocent Salvadoran citizens. Rather than take a clear stance on the issue, the State Department insists that the estimated 200,000 refugees who have fled El Salvador since 1979 did so for economic reasons—to find work.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

UNDERSTATEMENTS.

CHRISTOPHER HITCHENS

Wait a Minute

The story is told of two elderly Jews during the rise of Nazism in Germany. One was sitting and morosely reading the *Jewish Chronicle* while the other absorbed himself in scanning the cloacal fantasies of *Der Stürmer*. After a while, the *Chronicle* reader reproached his companion. "How can you read such filth?" he demanded. "And how can you smile like that when you do so?" "Listen," returned his friend, "I read the *Jewish Chronicle* and what do I read? Jews deported and killed, Jews robbed and beaten, Jews expropriated, Jews locked up and Jews insulted. But I read *Der Stürmer* and it says we rule the world."

This story, with its crashingly simple bad taste, may have a bearing on what is being bizarrely termed "the new McCarthyism." As a humble *Gastarbeiter* in your country, I may be quite mistaken about this. But it seems to me that two errors are being made at the moment. The first and most glaring is the hysterical overestimate, made by the right, of the importance of the left. It can be almost heartening to read the ugly propaganda of reaction and to see the implied compliment paid to America's scattered radicals. The second misconception involves the instant response of fear and loathing on the left—and the cries of "witch hunt" and so forth.

What is the true state of affairs? There has been an outbreak of hooligan journalism directed at the Institute for Policy Studies in Washington, D.C., in which outbreak some papers that ought to know better have briefly joined. [See Aryeh Neier's article on page 660.] There has been a bad thriller, written by two discredited hacks, on the same subject, in which the political analysis is on about the same level as the sex. There has been a laughable account of "terrorism" by an underachieving scribe named Claire Sterling, which seeks to show that Moscow is behind all acts of apparently random violence. (The fact that the two most spectacular "hits" on the Establishment lately have been the work, on the face of it, of neo-Nazi retards does not discompose her in the least.) Finally, there has been a hearing on internal security, in which the unhappy Senator Jeremiah Denton of Alabama embarrassed nobody but his few remaining friends. None of this is nice, and it has shown up some worrying gullibility in high places. But neither is it a full-blooded revanchist movement, and I think I can suggest why not.

A famous German Jewish radical sage, whose name I would prefer not to mention on the ground that it might tend to degrade and incriminate me, once observed that when people are acquiring a new language they always have to translate it back into the one they already know. Thus, the attack on I.P.S. becomes the bludgeoning vendetta against the postwar Communist Party. And the smear of "soft on terrorism" replaces "Communist" or "sympathizer" as the catchall term with which to criminalize dissent.

How pitiful this schema seems under the scrutiny of a moment. Consider: there is no longer a convenient and centralized party, loyal to another power, to which many influential Americans belong and which many others respect. The need for the existence of such a party is felt mainly on the right, with its police mentality and its mania for "contacts." Again, and at first sight paradoxically, Marxism as an intellectual presence is incomparably stronger and more "reputable" than it was a generation ago. In part, this is precisely because it has outgrown Stalinism. It has also become more diverse and pluralistic, and in important new disciplines such as linguistics it has made original contributions—very hard to ignore or to excommunicate. A real purge of the academy now would require a major totalitarian effort, and would inflict an enormous injury on American life. Why would the Establishment desire such a costly showdown at this point?

By the same token, even if the I.P.S. could be subjected to a sustained persecution and dislocation, its constituent members and (more important) its many insights could be fairly easily reassembled. Unlike the loyal and stupid Communists of the past, I.P.S. tries to speak truth to power rather than the reverse. Its own ideas and methods do not help to make it vulnerable. I have yet to hear a convincing argument against this obvious distinction in terms. Just as McCarthyism was not the fascism that many people feared, so the present Administration is not automatically a throwback to the bad old days.

So why does the left have to be so resigned and defensive? Surely people have learned some skepticism from the past, some basic unreadiness to trust what authority says. The right should be doing the worrying. Its campaign against dissent is so lowbrow and shoddy that it cannot hope (as it once did) to gain much centrist or liberal support. Already, editors yawn mightily at the mention of Ms. Sterling and her epigones.

The conservative world view has become insipid as well as unpleasant. Instead of good old Communism it proposes the nebulous idea of terrorism—a two-edged concept if ever there was one, and much less reliable. Meanwhile, the kind and eclectic staffers of I.P.S. are made to bear the burden once shouldered by Beria and Dimitrov. The religiosity and paranoia of all this is a sign of a lack of confidence, not of a messianic drive to power.

And it isn't going to work, any more than a campaign to clean up the hugely diversified world of American cinema would work these days. But I don't want to seem complacent or reassuring. There will be victims of the current intolerance, and they must be defended. In a few years, on the merest projection of current trends, the right will be saddled with a fiasco of a foreign policy and a ruinously inept and unpopular domestic one. The helm on which they now tug so strenuously just won't answer. Then they may well turn nasty and seek an enemy within. And at that point, if faced with the real thing, some radicals may regret their premature ejaculations of today.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

DISPATCHES.

■ MEXICO: Cuban Oil Find?

So far the Cuban government has remained mum on a story in the Mexican daily *Excelsior* that Mexican technicians had discovered large oil deposits just off Havana's beaches. According to *Excelsior*, the Cuban and Mexican governments knew of the discovery but were waiting for more data before going public.

Was the story true? Mexico's state-owned oil company, Pemex, issued a statement the next day that reiterated the terms of a protocol on energy cooperation, including joint explorations, which Mexico and Cuba signed last January, but avoided confirming or denying any oil discoveries.

U.S. energy experts tended to discount the story. An official in the U.S. Embassy in Mexico told "Dispatches" the story was "the result of confused reporting." It is too early for Pemex to have discovered anything in Cuba, he said, since they just started exploring in January. But he and other experts pointed out that some geologists believe Cuba could be sitting on the same formations that are under Mexico's oil-rich Gulf of Cámpeche.

If this is true, Cuba's political and economic fortunes could change dramatically. Cuba currently gets 95 percent of its oil at subsidized prices from the Soviet Union. Some Cuba-watchers speculate that Havana cannot count on this supply in the future and needs to develop other sources quickly. And whether or not oil is discovered, the Cubans are already benefiting from Mexican aid. Mexican technicians are providing the skills and Western technology to modernize two Cuban refineries, both built by American companies before the revolution. Mexico will also provide 10,000 tons of propane gas at good prices to Cuba, which is chronically short of this fuel.

And what does Mexico get out of the deal? Certainly aid for Cuba defuses criticism from Mexican leftists who have accused Pemex of catering to U.S. interests. The aid also provides Mexico with some leverage over Cuba in areas of mutual concern in Central America. And helping Cuba become energy-independent continues the longstanding Mexican policy of sticking by Cuba despite U.S. hostility.

Meanwhile, U.S. officials are reportedly watching closely to be sure Mexico does not violate the U.S. blockade by channeling oil equipment bought in the United States to Cuba. Surely an energy-independent Cuba is preferable to a Soviet-dependent one.

■ DOMINICA: Klan Invasion Force

Ten mercenaries—eight Americans and two Canadians—will go to trial soon on charges that they violated the U.S. Neutrality Act by conspiring to overthrow the government of Dominica. When the hapless soldiers of fortune were apprehended in New Orleans in late April by agents of the U.S. Treasury's Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms, the press treated the case lightheartedly. *Time* dubbed it the "Bayou of Pigs" and "a sitcom version of *The Dogs of War*, after rewrites by V.S. Naipaul and Woody Allen."

But two ominous aspects of the aborted coup need serious investigation: the Ku Klux Klan and South African connections. One of the indicted mercenaries is Stephen Don Black, who recently replaced media-hustler David Duke as head of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. Federal agents believe that others in the mercenary band are also Klan members. Why this sudden plunge into foreign affairs by the traditionally xenophobic K.K.K.? Money was certainly an incentive. But, according to a source close to the investigation, the Klan was also promised that if the coup were successful, it would be rewarded with territory on the island for use as an international training base and a hideout for Klansmen on the run from U.S. police.

The possibility of a South African connection to the coup plot can be traced back to the birth of Dominica less than three years ago, when the impoverished banana-exporting island of only 81,000 inhabitants gained independence from Britain. The first prime minister, the unscrupulous Patrick John, tried to make a quick buck by selling South Africa the rights to build an oil refinery on the island. When his negotiations with South Africa were exposed—as well as his alleged participation in planning "Operation Calypso," a mercenary invasion of Barbados—John was deposed. His successor, Prime Minister Eugenia Charles, has arrested John in connection with the latest mercenary coup attempt.

According to a State Department official who spoke with "Dispatches," John reportedly offered a $150,000 contract, plus assorted extras such as rights to open casinos and charter banks on the island, to a Texas mercenary named Mike Perdue, if he could return John to power. Perdue then apparently assembled the motley crew of Klan members and other thugs, but unwisely hired U.S. Treasury agents posing as able-bodied seamen to transport them and a cargo of firearms and explosives to Dominica. "They paid us $15,000 to hire our boat," special agent Terry McArdle told us.

The key question now is: who financed Patrick John and his Bayou of Pigs? "That's what we are investigating," says McArdle. "We want to know who paid for this thing and why."

■ MIDDLE EAST: Closer to Armageddon

In previous columns, we have called attention to the incipient nuclear arms race in the Middle East [see "Dispatches," *The Nation*, December 20, 1980, and March 7]. None of the major antagonists—Israel, Libya, Pakistan, Iraq—have officially acknowledged their secret pursuit of nuclear weaponry but there are now indications that Israel, the most advanced nuclear power in the region, may do so.

A renewed behind-the-scenes debate on "the nuclear option" was touched off in Israel when the Reagan Administration proposed the sale of Awacs reconnaissance planes to Saudi Arabia. Former Defense Minister Moshe Dayan is said to favor nuclear weapons and long-range ballistic missiles as a cheaper alternative to an escalating conventional arms race with wealthy Arab states.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ELIZABETH FARNSWORTH AND STEPHEN TALBOT

"With increasing frequency one hears about the desirability of going nuclear—something that could not be talked about until a few months ago," reported *The Jerusalem Post*'s military correspondent Hirsh Goodman in April. Goodman revealed that Tel Aviv University's Center for Strategic Studies was preparing a major study on Israeli nuclear strategy.

In the current issue of *Foreign Affairs*, Shai Feldman, an Israeli defense analyst at the Center for Strategic Studies, proposes that Israel publicly confront its Arab enemies with "an appropriate strategy and doctrine for overt nuclear deterrence." Feldman argues that "Israel should develop nuclear weapons in a quantity and of a yield sufficient to demolish salient targets in each of the Arab States. The suggested doctrine is countervalue—that is, threatening the destruction of cities and resources."

The argument now from Dayan and Feldman is that by proclaiming and threatening to use its nuclear might, Israel will safeguard its existence and be able to negotiate, from strength, a stable peace in the Middle East. However, it seems at least as likely that if Israel "goes nuclear" it will only provoke intensified Arab efforts to acquire nuclear weapons and bring the Middle East closer to Armageddon.

■ NICARAGUA: Familiar Trumpet

As the alliance formed to overthrow dictator Anastasio Somoza falls apart, Nicaraguan critics of the Sandinist National Liberation Front are making a calculated appeal for direct U.S. support. First, familiar charges are leveled against the Sandinists. "Nicaragua is moving in the Soviet orbit," Alfonso Robelo, formerly a member of the governing junta and now leader of the small opposition Nicaraguan Democratic Movement, told Northern California World Affairs Council members last month. Then the appeal: "But there is still time to change the course of the revolution. The U.S. must move now to directly aid newspapers, radio stations, unions and private sector groups that are opposing the Sandinists."

It is a refrain that plays well in this country, and not just among conservative Republicans. Robelo and his colleagues in groups like the Superior Council of Private Enterprise greatly impressed Democratic Senators Thomas Eagleton and Christopher Dodd and Representative Michael Barnes, who traveled to Managua recently for meetings with government and opposition leaders.

Their session with the governing three-man junta did not go well. The Americans expected the meeting to be private but it was held in a suffocatingly hot room filled with television cameras and bright lights. Sandinist leader Daniel Ortega, the governing junta's main spokesman, used the occasion to give a long speech roundly denouncing U.S. "imperialist" support for the Somozas. He also praised Cuba for befriending the Sandinists. Senator Eagleton, in particular, was reportedly infuriated at Ortega's lack of diplomatic tact. At the airport he told reporters, "The political capital of Nicaragua is not Managua but Havana."

Private sector groups and opposition political parties reinforced Eagleton's prejudices. "We met Robelo and other courageous oppositionists," Senator Eagleton told "Dispatches." "They suggested that aid go to this or that group. I'd focus the aid through them."

Dodd and Barnes were equally impressed with the "courageous oppositionists" but less critical of the Sandinists in remarks to the press. Both say they favor continuing government-to-government aid programs. Senator Dodd won praise in Managua for promising to look into the legality of the camps in Florida where anti-Sandinist guerrillas are training; once home, he asked legal scholars to research the issue.

But these good-will gestures seem sideshows to the main act that builds to a familiar climax. The Sandinists say they are convinced that Washington, Nicaraguan opposition groups and former national guardsmen operating out of Honduras (and the United States) are conspiring to overthrow the revolutionary government. Robelo, other opposition leaders and powerful American figures say Nicaragua must be prevented from going the Cuban route. The trumpet call for intervention is being sounded once again. It must be resisted. The United States has done enough damage to Nicaragua in this century.

■ PORTUGAL: The Oil Weapon

Energy-starved Portugal, the poorest country in Western Europe, is wooing Arab regimes for oil. As a quid pro quo, Arab leaders want Lisbon's conservative government to prohibit U.S. access to the Portuguese Azores in aid of Israel in any future Middle East war. This could pose a serious problem for U.S. and Israeli military strategists who, during the 1973 Mideast war, used the Azores as refueling bases for U.S. cargo planes rushing weapons to Israel. No other Western European nation would provide such facilities.

Portugal's Prime Minister Francisco Pinto Balsemao recently toured the Persian Gulf and won from the United Arab Emirates a pledge to double oil deliveries to Portugal next year. Then, on April 26, the secretary general of the Arab League, Chedli Klibi, opened an office in Lisbon and met with Foreign Minister Andre Goncalves Pereira. Klibi told reporters that Pereira had pledged that the U.S. Lajes Air Base in the Azores would never again be used against the Arabs. A Reuters story cited Pereira as saying the same thing during a Portuguese television interview. U.S. officials dismissed Pereira's remarks as "hypothetical."

The U.S. agreement with Portugal to use Lajes expires in February 1983. The State Department is well aware that Portugal fears a repetition of the Arab oil cutoff it suffered after siding with the United States and Israel in 1973. That is why no one in the Reagan Administration likes to talk about the details of current U.S. F-16 deliveries to Israel: the combat planes refuel en route, in the Azores.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ARTICLES.

CRACKDOWN ON JUSTICE

General Zia Is Now the Law

EQBAL AHMAD

At a recent press conference, Pakistani Foreign Minister Agha Shahi, on an official visit to Washington, appeared pleased, as did Gen. Alexander Haig, with their "far-reaching, unusually cordial and productive discussions." Despite Gen. Mohammed Zia ul-Haq's virtual abolition of the rule of law in Pakistan and his obvious, if unrealistic, drive to produce nuclear bombs, the United States has offered him a five-year, multibillion-dollar armaments package. Unlike Jimmy Carter's $400 million "peanuts," Reagan's is an offer General Zia cannot refuse. Overriding legislative requirements on human rights and nuclear proliferation, Congress has approved an initial $100 million toward this package.

We ought to be clear, though, about the consequences: U.S. military aid to Pakistan's praetorian regime is likely to augment political repression beyond endurance, heighten transnational tensions in the region, worsen India's relations with the United States, accelerate the arms race (including the nuclear arms race) in the region, exacerbate ethnic conflicts within Pakistan enough to jeopardize its territorial integrity and create the conditions for an armed U.S.-Soviet confrontation in Southwest Asia.

The last three months of improved Reagan-Zia relations have witnessed a serious deterioration of human-rights conditions in Pakistan. To those, like U.N. Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick, who assume non-Western, "authoritarian" cultures to be alien to the traditions of rule of law, it may come as a surprise that Pakistan had long enjoyed an independent, thoughtful and, at times, feisty judiciary. Over decades of military rule and erratic civilian governments, the higher courts of the country remained the ultimate legitimator of government authority, and the final arbiter of conflicts between individual rights and state power. Confrontations between the judiciary and executive occurred, and compromises were made. But successive governments, including the military regime of Marshall Ayub Khan, always conceded the independence of the judiciary; when enjoined, they bowed to the orders of the court. No head of government had so far dismissed a High Court judge on political grounds and without the recommendation of Pakistan's Chief Justice.

Now, General Zia has virtually destroyed the only peaceful recourse citizens had against his untrammeled abuses of power. On March 25, he fired at least nineteen senior judges when they refused to endorse his "constitutional order," which restricts the civil courts, outlaws all political parties except the small, neototalitarian Jamaat-i-Islami, deems the advocacy of any secular ideology or program to be a crime and empowers Zia to amend the 1973 Constitution at will, thus allowing him to dictate the country's future.

Among the senior judges who declined to take the required oath of allegiance to this new "constitutional order" was Anwar ul-Haq, the Chief Justice of Pakistan, an appointee of General Zia, whose earlier compliances with the junta had done much to lower citizen respect for the judiciary. Three of the six sitting judges of the Supreme Court and a State High Court Chief Justice also refused. Another Supreme Court judge, Safdar Sha, had earlier fled the country on foot through the Hindu Kush Mountains. Twelve High Court judges, well-known for their judicial integrity, were not invited to take the oath and automatically lost their posts. Among them were Justice Khuda Bux Marri, Chief Justice of the troubled Baluchistan Province, and Justice K. M. A. Samdani who, as Pakistan's Law Secretary, had earlier opposed Zia's attempts to pack the judiciary and reduce its jurisdiction.

"A judiciary's job is to interpret the law and administer justice, not to challenge the administration," General Zia proclaimed at a March 27 press conference. As for lawyers, rule of law and civil liberties were none of their business. "They must mind their own business and not meddle in other affairs," said the general. The besieged legal community responded through a statement by the Bar Association: "A country can put up with laws that are harsh or unjust just so long as they are administered by just judges who can mitigate their harshness or alleviate their unfairness, but a country cannot long tolerate a legal system which does not give a fair trial. Nations fall when judges are unjust because there is nothing people consider worth defending."

For their defense of the rule of law, lawyers have been hit harder than the judges. A recent crackdown on the democratic opposition to the junta added another 2,000 political prisoners, of whom a significant portion are lawyers. Since March some 200 senior High Court advocates have been jailed in Pakistan; the number of young attorneys in detention may be higher. They include Mahmud Ali Kasuri, a former Law Minister in the federal government and president of the defunct Pakistan Civil Liberties Union; Raza Kazim, a well-known international lawyer; the current as well as two former presidents of the Pakistan Bar Association; two former judges of the High Court, and two prominent women advocates. Two sons of a former Law Minister were thrown in prison because they agreed with their father.

The junta's assault on the legal profession has been general and indiscriminate. All of the lawyers save one were jailed without trial. The lengths of their sentences were not announced. Recourse to the Courts of Appeal is not al-

Eqbal Ahmad is a Fellow of the Transnational Institute of the Institute for Policy Studies.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

lowed. The only exception was Yahya Bakhtiar, whose case exemplifies justice under Zia's regime—and yields a mordant little joke. The former Advocate General of Pakistan was charged, convicted and sentenced to five years at hard labor for allegedly tampering with the electoral votes of his district in the parliamentary elections of March 1977. In other words, the junta has severely punished him now for irregularities allegedly committed four years ago in connection with elections of a Parliament which the junta illegally overthrew and abolished in July 1977. In fact, Bakhtiar was severely punished because he took his professional responsibility seriously: as an attorney he had conducted a vigorous defense in the twice-rigged trial of Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto.

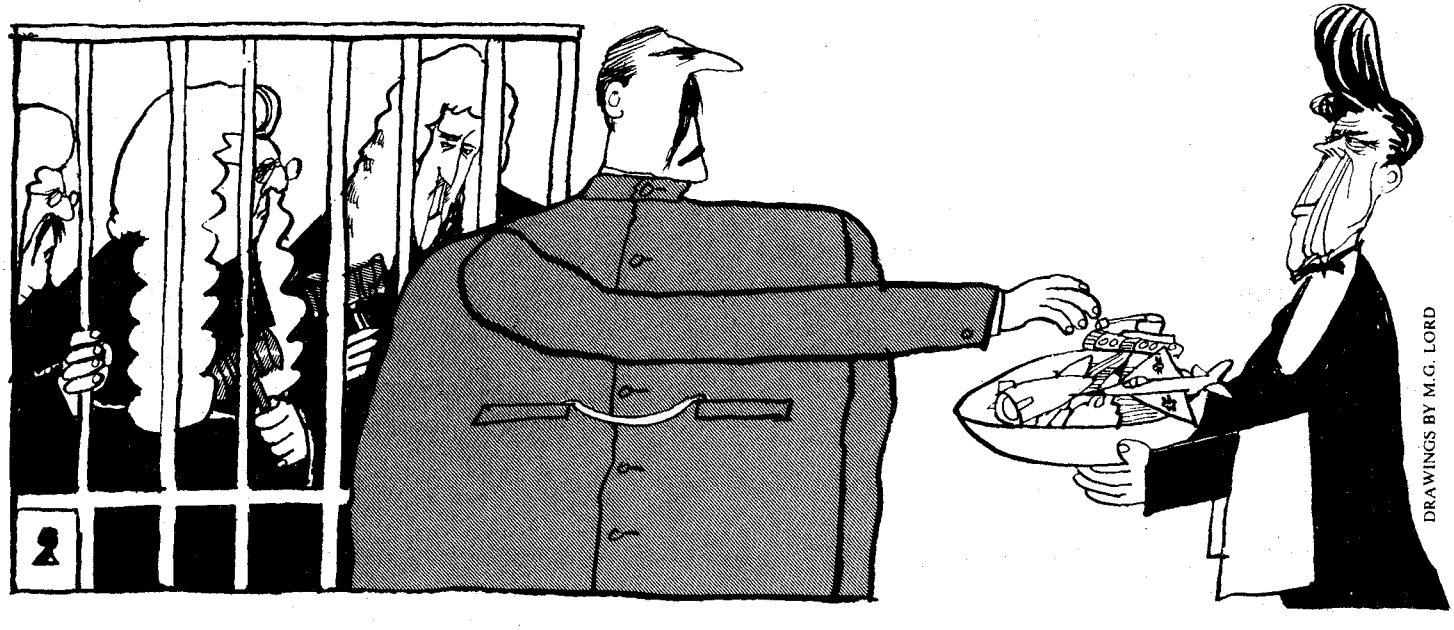
Rarely in modern times have so many judges and lawyers shown such courage or suffered this much collective punishment in defense of the rule of law. The indifference of the Reagan Administration was predictable; indeed, its support encouraged the junta's unconstitutional conduct. But the silence of the American media over these blatant violations by a government which is negotiating a formal alliance with the United States is astonishing. If Pakistan were Poland, its judges and lawyers would be folk heroes in America today.

Even if the questions of human rights and democratic values were to be set aside, as the Reagan Administration is prone to do, a realistic appraisal of the situation in Pakistan suggests that if the United States enters into a security pact, it will incur a major political and strategic liability. Pakistan's military dictatorship is isolated from its 175 million people; Zia's unprecedented assault on the judiciary, the only institution that commanded a modicum of legitimacy and public trust, is a measure of this isolation. Lacking even a semblance of legitimacy at home, Zia seeks support abroad. But foreign support, especially military aid, can only worsen the already serious crises of political legitimacy and national integration in that ethnically diverse and historically insurrectional land.

Central to the crisis of legitimacy is the unresolved tension between authoritarianism and popular demand for democracy. What is unique about Pakistan is not the military's interventions in politics but the constancy of public resistance to absolutism. The cycle of resistance and repression has progressively widened the gap between popular aspirations and elite power. It was in recognition of this reality that on July 5, 1977, General Zia told the nation that his "sole aim" in staging the *coup d'état* was "to organize free and fair elections," which would be held that October. He gave a "solemn assurance that I will not deviate from that schedule." The pledge was formalized when Zia swore allegiance to the Constitution, and again when Pakistan's Supreme Court invoked the Doctrine of Necessity in order to recognize the legality of the caretaker military government administration. The court stipulated the condition that the military government abide by the 1973 Constitution and, within a reasonable period, restore representative government.

But Zia's nearly four years in power have been marked by betrayals and broken oaths. Initially he chipped away at the Constitution, and the nation's laws and traditions. Unlike previous military governments, Zia deprived the judiciary of its power to review the decisions of the military courts which now exercise wide civilian jurisdiction. Similarly, in a development hitherto unknown in Pakistan, the army's field investigation units became responsible for internal security; their powers too are unchecked by legal provisions. Four of the five known deaths under torture have occurred in military custody. Zia's Islamization plan, designed to win over the conservative clergy, revived a medieval penal code and outdated social practices. The civilian bureaucracy began to be militarized. Finally, in March, he abrogated the Constitution and wrecked the judiciary. Terror and violence have increasingly become the only link between the people and the government. Even a child can guess on whom the promised American weapons will be used.

Decades of unequal development have compounded the problem of national integration. It is aggravated by contiguous Baluchi and Pakhtun populations in Iran and Afghanistan, and by the fact that Bhutto, the



DRAWINGS BY M.G. LORD

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

executed Prime Minister, came from Sind, the most oppressed and potentially explosive of Pakistan's four states. Unless the minority provinces—Sind, Baluchistan, the Northwest Frontier—begin to get a fair share of power and wealth, separatist movements will gain ground, and a large-scale war may follow. Given the strategic location of these provinces—the long coastline overlooking the Persian Gulf and the mountain ranges along the border between Afghanistan and Iran—the possibilities of regional and international involvement in the ensuing struggle are enormous.

The military regime is ill-suited to defusing the Pakistani powderkeg, much less promoting national integration. Rather, military spending has long been a primary cause of undemocratic and unequal development in Pakistan. The military consumes 50 percent of Pakistan's budget; it is the largest employer in a country of 40 percent male unemployment. Status and privileges accrue to members of the army, yet Baluchis and Sindis have negligible representation in it; 80 percent are Punjabis largely from a few rural districts. For the non-Punjabis, 42 percent of Pakistan's population, the army symbolizes inequality and ethnic discrimination. General Zia's preference for a strong, centralized government stirs deep anxiety in the minority provinces which regard a federal, parliamentary system as the best hope for redressing their grievances. Furthermore, the partiality of General Zia to the Jamaat-i-Islami's fundamentalist ideology worries not only the Christians but also the Shiite Moslems, who constitute 25 percent of the population.

The resumption of U.S. military assistance will surely exacerbate Pakistan's internal crisis. It may also provide the external pressures that will cause Pakistan's disintegration. In return for military aid, Zia promises Washington greater cooperation in assisting the Afghan rebels. If he does, Afghanistan may retaliate by supporting Pakistan's increasingly militant dissidents in the Baluchistan and Pakhtun regions. The seeds of armed hostilities in the area are being sowed, and the harvest may be a great-power confrontation. □

'Protest and Survive'
Low Prices for Bulk Orders!

This special issue of *The Nation* (January 24) devoted entirely to E. P. Thompson's profound and eloquent essay on the present danger of nuclear war is available at bulk rates. Handsomely illustrated with the brilliant drawings of Marshall Arisman, it is a scathing refutation of those who teach that nuclear war is survivable—even winnable.

____10 copies $8 ____100 copies $50
____50 copies $30 ____1,000 copies $300

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

Please make check or money order payable to *The Nation*, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10011.

SPIKING THE I.P.S.

An Open Letter To *The Times Magazine*

ARYEH NEIER

In an article *The New York Times Magazine* published about the American Enterprise Institute on May 10, the first paragraph informed readers that many persons associated with this "Conservative Brain Trust" (as *The Times* headed its story) had been appointed to influential positions in the Reagan Administration. That information connected the story to a question of current interest. Such topical connections are ordinarily essential in *Times Magazine* articles. It was more than a little odd, therefore, to read about "The Think Tank of the Left" in the April 26 issue of *The Times Magazine* and find no reference anywhere in the article to the event that would make the story topical.

The leftist think tank is the Institute for Policy Studies. I.P.S. is newsworthy just now because it is the target of accusations that it is a center of "subversion" and "covert action" [see Neier, "The I.P.S. and Its Enemies," *The Nation*, December 6, 1980]. The most prominent attack came in a best-selling novel, *The Spike*, by Arnaud de Borchgrave and Robert Moss, in which the institute is transmogrified into the Institute for Progressive Reform, a front for the Russian K.G.B. *The Times Magazine* article was published around the time that a big publicity campaign to promote the paperback edition of *The Spike* was breaking. (In the paperback version the I.P.S.'s fictional identity has been changed to the Foundation for Progressive Reform, to protect the paperback publisher from a libel suit.) It also came on the eve of the first hearing by Senator Jeremiah Denton's Subcommittee on Security and Terrorism to which de Borchgrave was called as the leadoff witness and testified that subversive forces are destroying the United States—as in his novel. De Borchgrave's appearance was announced long in advance.

I have no idea whether omission of any reference to *The Spike* should be credited to the author of "The Think Tank of the Left," Joshua Muravchik, or to the editors of *The Times Magazine*. It doesn't matter. What matters is that by not mentioning *The Spike*, the article avoids taking a position on the charges the novel makes. Perhaps Muravchik and *The Times* did not want to associate themselves with the accusation that the I.P.S. is a K.G.B. front or otherwise subversive. If so, they were equally intent, it appears, on not

Aryeh Neier, a member of The Nation*'s Editorial Board, is adjunct professor of law at New York University and director of the New York Institute of the Humanities.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

disputing these charges. Their purpose, rather, seems to have been to portray the institute as faithfully hewing to the Soviet line. This, Muravchik's article does devastatingly. The effect is to lend credence to the charges in *The Spike* without actually endorsing them.

"Contemptible slander" was the way I characterized the charges against I.P.S. in my article in *The Nation* last December. Accordingly, I read Muravchik's article with more than a little interest. Had I been taken in? Even if I.P.S. is not a K.G.B. front, is it a resolute apologist for the Soviet Union and other totalitarian regimes, as *The Times* article portrays it? It seemed important to do some checking of the statements Muravchik attributes to leading members of I.P.S.

The I.P.S. Fellow discussed at greatest length by Muravchik is Richard Barnet, who is co-founder of the institute with Marcus Raskin. Among other things, Muravchik says that Barnet called the United States "imperialist" while describing the Soviet Union as "a status quo power"; that Barnet has "praised" Cambodia under Pol Pot; and that Barnet "draws a distinction between the two superpowers in the area of human rights" in such a way that the Soviet Union comes out looking better than the United States.

According to Muravchik, Barnet labeled the Soviet Union a "status quo power" in an interview. Inquiring about this, I discovered that Barnet had been apprehensive about talking to Muravchik—who is a former executive director of the neoconservative Coalition for a Democratic Majority—and taped the interview. Barnet did use the term "status quo power." Here is what Barnet actually said:

> The Soviet Union has been expansionist in the sense that it held on to the peripheral areas of the pre-war expanse by the use of military power. However, I do not think it is a country with unlimited territorial ambitions. I think it is a country that has incredible domestic problems . . . it is fundamentally . . . in Kissinger's terms, a status quo power.

A moment later in the interview, Barnet responded to another question:

> I think that the United States certainly evidences some of the classic behavior of an imperialist power and I think the Soviet Union evidences the same behavior, but I think the causes and analysis are slightly different. The effects are not different. . . .

Muravchik writes that "Barnet and some of his colleagues have also praised postwar Vietnam, and Cambodia under Pol Pot." Barnet has had too many "colleagues" over the years for me to try to check that reference. As for Barnet himself, I was aware that he had signed a statement on postwar Vietnam (that I would disagree with), but was surprised by the allegation that he had praised the Pol Pot regime. I put the question to Barnet. Did you ever praise the Pol Pot regime? His answer: "Never." I called Muravchik. No, he could not cite any instance in which Barnet had praised the Pol Pot regime. He never meant to say so and didn't think that was a reasonable reading of the sentence he wrote. After talking for a while about the extensive editing his article had undergone by *The Times*—though he didn't say *The Times* had distorted the meaning he intended—Muravchik pointed out that the sentence had "a compound subject and a compound object." Even so, he argued, a reader could not reasonably conclude that he had accused Barnet of praising the Pol Pot regime. (That is, if I wrote that "John and some of his friends traveled to Spain and Portugal," a reader could not reasonably conclude that I meant to say that John traveled to Portugal.) I suggested to Muravchik that he write a letter to *The Times Magazine* pointing out that he did not intend to say or imply that Barnet had praised the Pol Pot regime. This would be more honorable, I said, than leaving it to Barnet to protest. Muravchik rejected the suggestion.

Then there is the question of human rights in the Soviet Union and the United States. I refer anyone who wants to know what Barnet has had to say on this score to his 1977 book, *The Giants: Russia and America*, especially to pages 47 to 54. Here may be found a discussion of what Barnet describes as "the outrageous behavior of Soviet officials toward their own citizens"; of the Soviet Union's disregard of the human-rights provisions of the 1975 Helsinki Accords; of the "repressive use of mental hospitals [as] an Orwellian horror story"; of the persecution suffered by such dissenters as Andrei Sakharov, Yuri Orlov, Alexander Ginzburg, Pavel Litvinov, E. Neizvestny, Vladimir Bukovsky and others; of Soviet oppression of national minorities such as the Crimean Tatars and the Lithuanians, and of Soviet oppression of religious minorities such as Jews, Lithuanian Catholics, Pentecostals, Jehovah's Witnesses and Baptists. The book is silent about American human-rights practice, except for such criticism as is implied in these sentences: "The American constitutional system enshrines fundamental procedural rights such as freedom of speech, assembly, and religion. With these rights anyone is free—in theory if not always in practice—to acquire everything needed for a decent life—food, housing, medical care, a job." (In the event you would like a fuller account of Barnet's views, read his April 27 article in *The New Yorker*, in which he refers to "harsh acts of repression" by the Soviet Union; discusses Soviet "aggression against Afghanistan"; provides about as complete a catalogue of Soviet intervention in other countries as you will find anywhere, and discusses questions of war, peace and military spending with customary intelligence.)

In my phone conversation with Muravchik, I suggested that he had conveyed a distorted impression of Barnet's views on human rights in the Soviet Union. He responded that he relied on an Op-Ed article that Barnet wrote for *The Los Angeles Times* which, Muravchik thought, was Barnet's most recent pronouncement on the subject. I obtained a copy of the article, which deals with the Carter Administration's human-rights policy and was published on March 13, 1977, several months prior to *The Giants* (a book Muravchik told me he had read). Muravchik's article quotes one sentence that Barnet wrote about the Soviet Union in *The Los Angeles Times* but shades the meaning by deleting certain words. The sentence follows, with the words Muravchik deleted appearing in italics: "Ironically, one area of the world that can point to some improvement *in its human*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

rights record over the past generation is the Soviet Union, which *despite its sorry record in implementing 'socialist legality'* is far from the giant concentration camp that Stalin made it." The article also refers to "the brave and remarkable men who have become prominent Soviet dissidents" and characterizes Soviet treatment of them as "reprehensible" and "outrageous." Those passages are not mentioned by Muravchik.

It can't be animus against Richard Barnet alone that inspired Muravchik. Barnet doesn't figure in a passage in which Muravchik writes that the "I.P.S. has not addressed human-rights problems in Cuba. But the I.P.S. is certified as a nongovernmental organization, to bring violations to the attention of the United Nations. Last year, it did so, alleging a 'consistent pattern of gross violations of human rights' by the United States, Chile and Guatemala."

This refers to a document dated March 10, 1980. Muravchik neglects to mention its subject, which is made clear by its title: "Legal Process and the Protection of the Lands of Native Peoples." The sentence from which Muravchik extracted his information reads, in its entirety:

> The treatment of indigenous peoples in the Americas, e.g. Guatemala, Chile and the United States of America, constitutes a consistent pattern of gross violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms spanning at least two hundred years.

As Muravchik says, there is no reference to Cuba. Nor, for that matter, is there any reference to Argentina. They are among the countries of the Americas that solved their problems with indigenous peoples long ago by wiping them out.

Muravchik also supports the charges made by *The Spike* without actually endorsing them by portraying I.P.S. as the hub around which many other organizations revolve. I don't know much about most of the organizations Muravchik mentions, but I know a good deal about one of them, the Center for National Security Studies. According to Muravchik, I.P.S. "created the Center for National Security Studies." It did not. I.P.S. had nothing to do with creating the center. If I.P.S. had created the center, this should be a matter of pride because the center has effectively challenged the subversion of civil liberties in the name of national security. The center was created by Leslie Dunbar as an arm of the Fund for Peace, an organization with no connection with I.P.S. Shortly thereafter, the American Civil Liberties Union (which also has no connection with I.P.S.) undertook joint sponsorship of the center (as it happens, I was the A.C.L.U. official responsible for this).

Muravchik's false assertion that I.P.S. created the Center for National Security Studies also has the effect of smearing the center. The smear does not derive from being linked with I.P.S. but from being linked with the I.P.S. portrayed by Muravchik. The center challenges abuses by the Central Intelligence Agency and the Federal Bureau of Investigation exclusively on civil liberties grounds. By portraying I.P.S. as pro-Soviet and labeling the center as a creature of I.P.S., Muravchik creates the impression that criticism of civil liberties violations by the intelligence agencies is all part of a pro-Soviet plot. This is set forth explicitly in *The Spike*.

Joshua Muravchik, of course, is of no particular note, but the publication of his article by *The New York Times Magazine* confers a certain respectability on it. *The Times Magazine* also gave credence to *The Spike* by publishing an article recently by one of its co-authors, Robert Moss. In the same vein, *The Times Magazine* published a long excerpt from Claire Sterling's penny dreadful, *The Terror Network* [see Neier, "A Sterling Vapor Gun," *The Nation*, May 9]. There may be some comfort in knowing that, after a few more such articles, *The Times Magazine* will have no respectability left to confer. For the time being, however, Muravchik, Moss and Sterling can do much mischief because of *The New York Times*.

I would like to know what the editors of *The Times* have to say about the distortions, misleading quotations out of context and out-and-out falsehoods I have pointed out in Muravchik's article. As they think about what they will say, I hope they will reread their recent editorial about journalistic responsibility and Janet Cooke's article in *The Washington Post* which, briefly, won the Pulitzer Prize. □

ONWARD WYCLIFFE SOLDIERS

Missionaries With a Mission?

BILL WALLACE

On March 7, guerrillas from Colombia's revolutionary April 19 Movement executed Chester A. Bitterman 3d, a 28-year-old American missionary they had kidnapped two months earlier. They justified their action by claiming that the U.S.-based organization Bitterman worked for, Wycliffe Bible Translators, was a front for the Central Intelligence Agency. Bitterman's employer, a widely known religious and educational organization with close ties to several colleges and universities, as well as a legion of endorsers among business, governmental and diplomatic circles, denied April 19's claims, and most people quickly dismissed the guerrillas' allegations as irrational ravings from the perpetually paranoid underground of Latin American politics.

But April 19 is not the first organization to charge that Wycliffe Bible Translators has links with the U.S. intelligence community. Nor does all the criticism emanate from the far left. A steadily increasing number of academics, including numerous Latin American anthropologists, have accused Wycliffe of providing cover for covert C.I.A. operations and of engaging in intelligence gathering. A variety of South American magazines and newspapers have criticized Wycliffe and its subsidiaries, the

Bill Wallace, a reporter for The San Francisco Chronicle, *is an associate of the Center for Investigative Reporting Inc. Research assistance for this article was provided by the Data Center in Oakland, California.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Summer Institute of Linguistics and the Jungle Aviation and Radio Service (J.A.A.R.S.), for working closely with some of the most repressive governments in Latin America, and for promoting the exploitation of Latin resources by multinational corporations. Even some churchmen have attacked Wycliffe for using the pretext of its Christian mission to promote Western notions of politics, law and social organizations, thus helping to destroy indigenous cultures among isolated peoples.

Wycliffe was founded by William Cameron Townsend, a Bible salesman from Orange County, California, who, as a young man during World War I, worked among the primitive tribes in Central America. According to *Uncle Cam*, an "authorized" biography of Townsend written by James and Marti Hefley in 1974 and printed by The Word Books, a religious publishing house, the young Bible trader quickly realized that the Spanish-language religious literature he was peddling might as well have been written in Swedish since most of the non-Christian Indians he approached could communicate only in obscure native tongues which seemed to have no alphabet or established rules of usage. Townsend mounted a series of linguistic expeditions into remote parts of the Central American and Mexican jungles, studying several of these little-known languages and developing grammars for them. In 1934, Townsend and a group of his colleagues established a language program for would-be Bible translators at Sulphur Springs, Arkansas—the first Summer Institute of Linguistics. In 1935, the institute's first graduating class began working among preliterate tribes in Mexico, and Wycliffe Bible Translators was born.

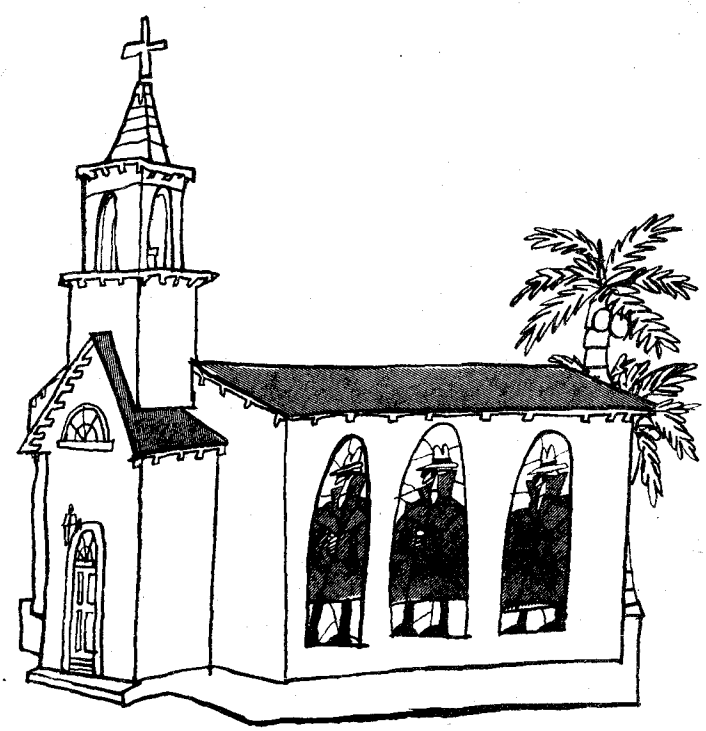
Today, the organization has at least 3,000 career linguists and other professionals working in more than twenty-five countries. According to a recent pamphlet from Wycliffe, the group's legions of Christian soldiers have worked among obscure tribes of preliterate peoples in Asia, Africa, North and South America, the Philippines, New Guinea and Europe. Several years ago, the organization even sent a delegation to the Soviet Union to study some of the lesser-known national languages within the U.S.S.R.

Wycliffe's primary activity is translating the New Testament and other biblical texts into the languages of aboriginal societies, which the larger and better-known Christian missionary organizations consider too small to bother with. In the course of that work, Wycliffe has developed a missionary relationship with more than 555 tribes all over the world, and has translated religious works into more than 200 languages.

But Wycliffe is much more than a missionary organization. It is supported by outside funding totaling roughly $8 million a year. Much of the money is paid by the governments of the countries in which it operates. The remainder comes from U.S. governmental agencies like the Alliance for Industrial Development and the former Department of Health, Education and Welfare, and from wealthy fundamentalist businessmen and small church organizations. In 1947, Wycliffe organized its own airline of bush pilots and mechanics to support Wycliffe missionaries probing the unexplored reaches of the Amazon basin. This Christian air corps has grown from a handful of planes scrounged from sympathetic governments to a major fleet of thirty aircraft, many of them outfitted with specialized equipment to allow short takeoffs and landing patterns, high-altitude flying and amphibious landings. Wycliffe also has assembled a formidable communications empire often operating on specially assigned frequencies that cannot be used by outside military and civilian transceivers.

Today Wycliffe's air arm and its communications network service remote areas in Central and South America, Africa, the Pacific Islands and Alaska. The organization's far-flung operations involve thousands of other workers in various technical specialties. Several years ago, it advertised nearly a thousand job openings in twenty-three countries, including computer programmers and maintenance workers, doctors, nurses, photographers and layout artists, agronomists and community developers. The advertisement even included a call for teachers and school administrators to operate "both city and base schools the Wycliffe children attend."

This horde of missionary workers, employing expensive, sophisticated equipment, with a private air wing and communications more advanced than those operated by many African and Latin American governments, is quite understandably viewed with suspicion by many Third World countries. Commenting on Bitterman's murder, Roger Rumrill, a Peruvian writer who specializes in the study of that country's Indian tribes and their customs, said, "The Summer Institute of Linguistics promotes a view of life which is capitalist, paternalist and colonialist. That is why it should not belong in Peru." An extensive study of Wycliffe's global operations published by the North American Congress on Latin America in late 1973 accused Wycliffe and its subsidiaries of engaging in "pacification" operations against aboriginal peoples, either by



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

preparing them for forced evacuation from tribal enclaves where multinational and national corporations hope to exploit natural resources, or by "Westernizing" them and tempting them away from their lands into urban centers.

To such criticisms, Wycliffe's officials answer that they are simply trying to help indigenous peoples get ready for the inevitable onslaught of Western civilization. "The purpose of all these programs is not to impose a predetermined pattern on emerging peoples but rather to help them bridge the gap to the culture to which they must adapt if they are to survive," says an official position paper from Wycliffe's Summer Institute of Linguistics.

"The Christian culture is the basis for Western civilization and they [native peoples] are surrounded by it, whether they like it or not," says James Wroughton, the director of Wycliffe's programs in Peru. "It is useful for them to have the source document of that culture, which is the New Testament. We are not trying to convert the tribes to civilization or to any particular way of life. We are not agents of any government or culture."

Unfortunately, some of Wycliffe's operations do not bear out Wroughton's assurances. In 1970, Wycliffe provided air and radio support for Colombian national police who were suppressing a revolt by the Guahibo Indian tribe, one of the aboriginal groups that Wycliffe has attempted to convert. The tribe's insurrection was touched off when Colombian nationals began settling on tribal lands under a Colombian land reform program supported by the U.S. government. In 1946, the hunter-gatherer Indians of the Auca tribe drove representatives of the Shell Oil Company out of the eastern jungles of Ecuador; in 1964 a plane from Wycliffe brought the first oil company geologist back into the remote wilderness, and the "Christianized" Auca tribesmen, under the direction of the Wycliffe missionaries who converted them, were used as an advance public relations party by the oil companies, moving hostile Aucas out of the path of geological survey teams and assisting Ecuadorean officials in a massive campaign to relocate the tribes onto government reservations.

Under Wycliffe's 1971 contract with the government of Peru, pilots and mechanics from J.A.A.R.S. trained mechanics and fliers for the Peruvian Army and provided air support for remote jungle military outposts. The organization's contract also required Wycliffe's missionaries to prepare detailed ethnic and linguistic maps of the bush area they penetrated and to collect art objects and anthropological artifacts for the government; the contract specified that all information collected by Wycliffe staffers in the jungles of Peru be turned over to government officials, and made the Peruvian government the only permissible conduit between Wycliffe and "other public and private organizations."

No direct evidence exists to support the persistent allegation that Wycliffe acts as a front for the C.I.A., a claim first raised by anthropologists in Colombia in the early 1970s. During the Vietnam War, the organization did work with tribesmen who became C.I.A. mercenaries. In 1957, President Ngo Dinh Diem invited the Wycliffe Bible Translators to serve in his country. Once established, they studied the language and culture of the Nung tribe, who, according to Victor Marchetti and John Marks in *The CIA and the Cult of Intelligence*, "were known to be extremely fierce fighters and . . . became a favorite source of manpower for C.I.A. operations in South Vietnam." The group's linguists also worked extensively with Vietnamese Montagnard tribesmen and received more than $160,000 in grants for their work from the U.S. Alliance for Industrial Development, an agency that frequently fronted for the C.I.A. in Indochina. Both the C.I.A. and the U.S. Army's Special Forces wanted to break down the Montagnard's traditional hostility to the government, and Wycliffe's missionaries—through their language fieldwork with the tribe as well as their missionary activities—assisted greatly in that effort.

In 1975, investigators from the government of Colombia who probed the missionary organization concluded that Wycliffe was being used as a cover for U.S. intelligence operations, but no conclusive evidence has emerged in the United States. During the U.S. Senate and House Intelligence Committee investigations in 1975 and 1976, Wycliffe's name never cropped up among the agencies identified as espionage covers. William Schaap, an editor of *Covert Action Information Bulletin* in Washington, D.C., a magazine that specializes in revealing C.I.A. covert operations worldwide, says, "It's been alleged time and again [that Wycliffe is a C.I.A. front] but no one has produced any proof. It could be that they are acting as cover for the Company, or that individuals within the organization are agents. I don't think anybody knows for sure."

Whether Wycliffe is connected to the C.I.A. or not, a substantial number of Third World activists have decided Wycliffe's missionary activities aren't good for developing nations or the isolated, preliterate peoples who inhabit them. Late last year, only three months before Bitterman was murdered by Colombian guerrillas, delegates at the Eighth Annual Inter-American Indian Congress meeting in Mérida, Mexico, overwhelmingly voted to launch an investigation into Wycliffe's activities in North and South America. The vote followed several days of hostile

EL SALVADOR:
The Roots of Intervention

A special collection of *Nation* articles, including James Petras on the White Paper, is now available at bulk rates.

____ 10 copies $8 ____ 100 copies $50
____ 50 copies $30 ____ 1,000 copies $300

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Please make checks or money orders payable to *The Nation*, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10011.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

testimony from members of Indian tribes who had dealt with Wycliffe and its subsidiaries, and came immediately after the congress voted to withdraw an award for service it had given to Wycliffe founder William Townsend at its 1972 meeting.

The steps taken by the Inter-American Indian Congress were mild compared with the murder of Chester Bitterman. But if the threats of groups like April 19 are to be believed, the work of his colleagues will become increasingly dangerous. □

Sea-Law Treaty

(*Continued From Front Cover*)

William Clark, met to discuss the Administration's position at what was believed to be the final negotiating session, due to start a week later. Following statements in favor of the treaty by representatives of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Iklé outlined his own reservations on behalf of the Secretary of Defense. Strong opposition had also come from other agencies, in particular James Watt's Department of the Interior. Later that day, the State Department issued a short statement. In light of "serious problems" with the current draft of the treaty, the department said, it was seeking to extend the negotiations and review its position.

Many observers feel that the outcome of this review will be a shift in the U.S. position that will effectively scuttle the 320-clause treaty, which covers a wide range of other marine-related activities like deep-sea fishing, research and navigation, by proposing changes unacceptable to Third World countries. The State Department made known that its main objections were to the parts of the treaty dealing specifically with conditions for deep-sea mining, and this seemed to confirm press reports that the Administration was responding primarily to pressure from mining companies. Although these companies are eager to get their hands on the vast underwater supplies of minerals such as manganese and cobalt lying in nodules on the ocean floor, they have remained strongly critical of several aspects of the draft treaty completed last summer—in particular its lack of a so-called grandfather clause protecting any investments made prior to the treaty's coming into force. The developing countries see such a concession as skewing the system in the mining companies' favor at the outset.

It soon became clear, however, that the Administration intended to expand the review to cover all aspects of the treaty, including those on which agreement had previously been reached—for example, rules for the regulation of marine research, or the protection of the marine environment. Furthermore, the U.S. delegation to the New York meeting announced that the review would not be completed until at least the fall, dashing any hopes that the treaty would be ready for signing in Caracas, Venezuela, in August, as scheduled.

David Dickson is the Washington correspondent for Nature, *the weekly British science journal.*

The scope of the current review demonstrates that the treaty has fallen victim to a confluence of three powerful foreign policy themes identified with the conservative wing of the Republican Party. The first is the hypothesis that the United States may have to defend itself against a Soviet-inspired "resource war," in which the dependence of the U.S. military on foreign sources of several critically important metals is in danger of being exploited as a potential weapon of blackmail. According to this view, the United States must insure itself free access to the mineral-rich seabed. The second theme is a rejection of international institutions such as the United Nations as a framework for global economic negotiations and, in particular, attempts to engineer a redistribution of world wealth through a "new international economic order," the principal basis of North-South economic negotiations since the mid-1970s. Finally, criticism of the Seabed Authority, the international regime that the Law of the Sea treaty would set up to control seabed mining, has struck a responsive chord within the staunchly antiregulation Reagan White House.

Ironically, many of the legal concepts embodied in the current draft treaty originated with the United States. In 1966, President Johnson spoke of the need to insure that "the deep seas and ocean bottoms are and remain the legacy of all human beings," an idea subsequently incorporated in a 1970 U.N. resolution that described the minerals of the seabed as part of "the common heritage of mankind." Furthermore, the currently proposed arrangements, under

REMY Presents
BOOKS BEHIND BARS BENEFIT
June 3, 1981
at the Village Gate

Susan Sarandon, Ossie Davis, Ruby Dee, Roberta Flack, John Irving, Toni Morrison, Jane Kramer, Amiri Baraka, Norman Mailer and many others welcome you to a special benefit evening, highlighted by a performance of "One Mo' Time," after-show entertainment by Chico Hamilton and Evelyn Blakey, and a literary and art raffle/auction with Flo Kennedy.

Open Bar **Light Supper**

R.S.V.P. $75 per person (tax deductible)
Checks payable to: Art Without Walls/BBB, 47 Fifth Ave. New York, New York 10003, Telephone (212) 924-6780

FSU LIBRARY
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

which private mining companies would be awarded licenses in return for fees, taxes and making their mining technology available to the Seabed Authority—enabling it to carry out its own parallel mining activities—were initially put forward by Henry Kissinger in 1976 as a compromise between the demands of the industrial and the developing countries.

All of the mining countries (and most of the mining companies) have since agreed—albeit reluctantly—to accept the principle of international regulation and parallel production. The companies are organized into consortia, each of which will need to raise initial operating capital of about $1 billion. And four out of the five main consortia, although continuing to raise objections to certain clauses, accept the need for the protection that the treaty would provide.

The main opposition, according to those who have followed the negotiations closely, has come from the fifth consortium, Ocean Mining Associates (O.M.A.), which was created by subsidiaries of U.S. Steel, the Pennsylvania-based holding company Sun Co., the Italian oil company E.N.I. and the Belgian Union Miniere Company. (A subsidiary of Sun Co., Sun Ship, was the company that built the *Hughes Glomar Explorer* for the Central Intelligence Agency in the early 1970s, apparently as a deep-sea mining vessel, but later revealed to have been built to salvage a Soviet submarine that sank in 1968.) O.M.A.'s recently retired president, Phillip Hawkins, has made clear his consortium's almost total opposition to international regulation as embodied in the proposed treaty, declaring of the current draft, "we cannot live with it." Hawkins and other leaders of the consortium have switched debate on the treaty from detail to principle. In doing so, they draw heavily on the conservative elements in the Republican Party for both political and ideological support.

Hawkins was a member of the steering committee of a public forum organized last June by the World Affairs Council of Pittsburgh (W.A.C.). William Roesch, president of (Pittsburgh-based) U.S. Steel, acted as general chairman of the forum, which heard reports from three panels on the implications of a so-called resource war. One of the panels, on the "politics of decision making," was chaired by Fletcher Byrom, chairman of the board of Koppers Company, and two of its six members represented the American Mining Congress.

Not surprisingly, the panel expressed its concern that "investments in deep-seabed mining might be endangered by future international agreements or treaties," mentioning in particular the proposed Law of the Sea. It complained that "U.S. policies toward the Third World nations have all too often been motivated by human rights and essentially 'political' considerations, to the exclusion of economic and *closely-related national security considerations*" (italics added). And it demanded that the United States adopt a seabed minerals policy which guaranteed "freedom of access" to seabed resources—a direct challenge to the U.N.'s proposed licensing arrangement.

The political thrust of these proposals becomes clearer when we look more closely at their origin. The chairman of the steering committee for the forum was R. Daniel McMichael, a former public relations officer with U.S. Steel. Long a staunch anti-Communist, McMichael is the author of *The Journal of David Q. Little*, published in 1967 by Arlington House, a publisher specializing in conservative titles. Couched as the diary of a Pittsburgh steel salesman written in the 1970s and discovered 250 years in the future, *The Journal* is a thinly veiled fictional attack on the repercussions of détente with the Soviet Union, of surrendering U.S. sovereignty to the United Nations—including the power to impose international treaties—and of the transfer of wealth to the Third World. All these have led to America's economic suicide in the last decade of the twentieth century, the author contends. The book's jacket copy warns that "conditions leading to the death of America are very much in evidence at this moment." McMichael is currently administrative agent of the Scaife Family Charitable Trusts, which were set up with money from the Mellon empire (Alcoa, U.S. Steel, Gulf Oil, etc.). In recent years the trusts have been a principal source of financial support for conservative think tanks like the Hoover Institution at Stanford University, to which more than $4 million has been donated by the trusts and the Sarah Scaife Foundation since 1973. (The trusts' chief trustee, Richard Mellon Scaife, gained a certain national prominence when he contributed $1 million to Richard Nixon's re-election campaign. He was named in press reports as the nominal owner of a London-based feature service, Forum World Features, which received C.I.A. funding.)

The Sarah Scaife Foundation was the main source of support for W.A.C.'s resource war forum, providing $50,000 to support the work of the three panels which presented their conclusions to the meeting. The full implications of these studies emerged after the Presidential election last November, when McMichael was appointed head of a task force established by Ronald Reagan to examine the whole issue of strategic minerals. In addition to strong representation from the mining industry, the task force included several participants in the Pittsburgh forum, such as Frank Barnett, president of the hawkish National Strategy Information Center, which was set up in 1962 by a group that included William Casey and was the source of a June 1980 report on the resource war. A principal consultant on the report, Daniel James, was also the author of one of the few public statements supporting the Administration's decision to review the Law of the Sea Treaty, a letter to *The Washington Post* on April 27. In his letter, James complained that "the central objection to the treaty is that it would establish an International Seabed Development Authority, which would exercise virtual supranational dominion over the ocean's depths in a manner as Orwellian as its name, abridging our national sovereignty and ruling the destinies of U.S. private companies."

Other listed participants on the strategic minerals panel included Frank Shakespeare, president of RKO General Inc., a trustee of the Heritage Foundation and former director of the U.S. Information Agency; Grant Dove, senior

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

vice president of Texas Instruments, and William Pendley, then minority counsel to the House Subcommittee on Mines and Mining (whose chairman, Representative James Santini of mineral-rich Nevada, has been one of the loudest promoters of the resource war concept) and now Deputy Assistant Secretary for energy and minerals in the Department of the Interior.

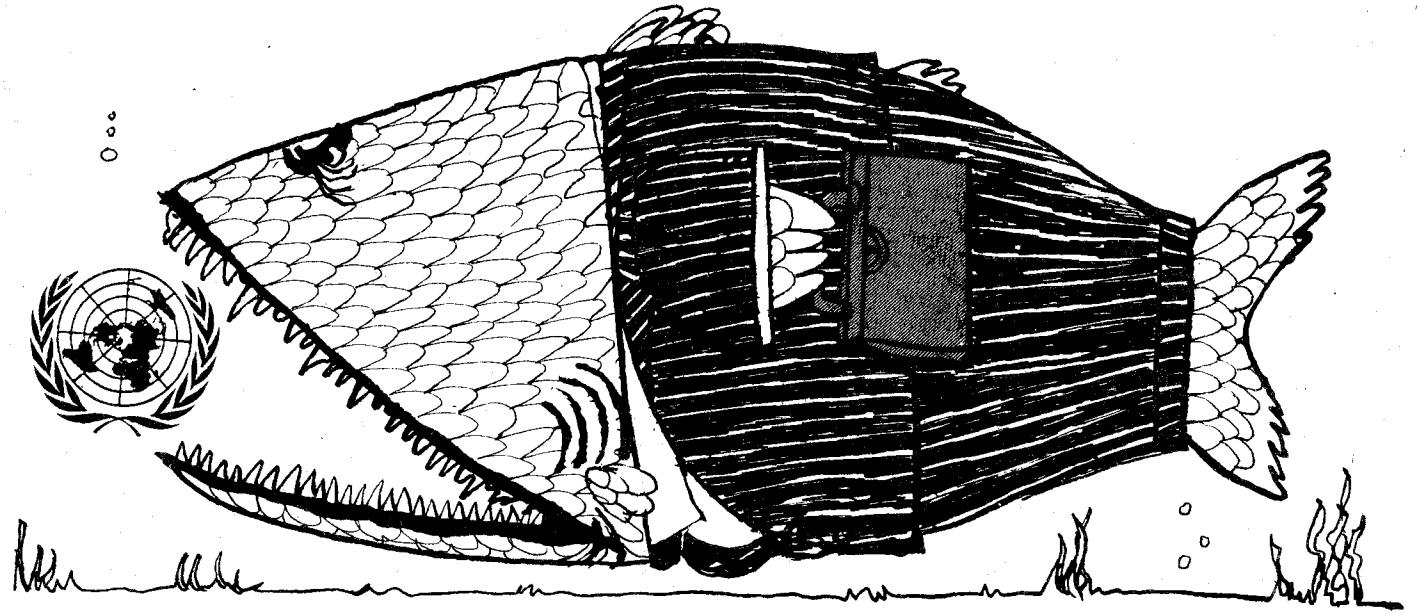
The strategic-minerals task force presented Reagan, in the middle of last December, with thirty-three proposals, including the suggestion that a full-scale review be carried out of the Carter Administration's position on the Law of the Sea Treaty, which had already been criticized in the Republican Party platform prior to the election. The Administration's decision to carry out a review also reflected pressures from those seeking to discredit the idea of a "new international economic order." The proposed Law of the Sea Treaty would be one of the first concrete actions agreed to under this proposition. By the mid-1970s, even Kissinger had acknowledged the usefulness of the treaty to international capital, warning that its rejection "will lead to unrestrained military and commercial rivalry and mounting political turmoil."

Yet what to Kissinger and his supporters appeared as a necessary mechanism for the orderly growth of U.S. profits has, to the Reagan Administration, become but one more symbol of unwanted government interference in the marketplace. Reagan and his foreign policy advisers have shown little interest in supporting attempts at a redistribution of global wealth through controls on technology transfers that benefit Third World nations, not least because any such controls would have to be handled by some form of international authority. In June 1980, while still president of United Technologies Corporation, Secretary of State Alexander Haig put this view bluntly, calling the "common heritage international regime" envisaged in the draft Law of the Sea Treaty "inimical to private enterprise market principles and the interests of the Western industrialized nations." The United States in particular would be injured, he said, "because it would be required to relinquish many of the advantages of its current technological leadership." United's president, Harry Gray, has also been a frequent supporter of stronger moves to guarantee access to strategic minerals.

An influential Washington lobbyist, Leigh Ratiner, has been closely involved in the current Administration review. Ratiner worked for the Federal government for seventeen years, first as a lawyer with the Defense Department, then as head of the Interior Department's Ocean Mining Administration in the early 1970s. He was a member of the U.S. delegation to the Law of the Sea Conference and chief U.S. negotiator on deep-sea mining issues. In 1977, after leaving government service, he joined the Washington law firm of Dickstein, Shapiro and Morin and was immediately hired by Kennecott Copper to lobby against the treaty.

After parting company with Kennecott in 1979, Ratiner became attorney for the L-5 Society, a Texas-based organization committed to the industrial exploitation of space and deeply opposed to the U.N.'s so-called Moon Treaty, which would treat resources on the moon "and other celestial bodies," as part of the "common heritage of mankind." Addressing a Senate hearing last year on behalf of the L-5 Society, he said that interpretations of the "common heritage concept" as meaning "common property" were "exactly opposite to free access to mineral resources," —the demand that the O.M.A. mining consortium is currently making.

Ratiner has been the chief tactician for the Reagan Administration's moves on the treaty. He has a contract with the Commerce Department to survey the ocean mining laws of foreign countries, and using this project as a base, has apparently been able to wield considerable influence. Soon after the State Department announced the review of its negotiating position, several members of the U.S. delegation to the U.N. talks were summarily dismissed. Their replacements are said to have been largely selected on the basis of suggestions by Ratiner. He himself was added to the delegation as an "expert" to assist its new head, James Malone, the recently appointed Assistant Secretary of State for oceans



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and international environmental and scientific affairs. Malone was previously general counsel at the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency under Fred Iklé. Ratiner is also working with an old ally, Ted Kronmiller, who was a staff member on the House Merchant Marine and Fisheries Subcommittee (under chairman John Breaux, who has been one of the fiercest critics of the sea treaty). Kronmiller is now a Deputy Assistant Secretary of State under Malone and heads the committee that is currently reviewing the treaty.

In mapping out his strategy, Ratiner is also said to have had support from within the White House itself, where two of the strongest critics of the treaty—both members of the current review committee—have been domestic policy adviser Martin Anderson and Murray Weidenbaum, chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers. Their opposition to the treaty is derived from their campaign against "excessive" government regulation of the private sector. Links between the regulation debate and the treaty had already surfaced at the Hoover Institution where Anderson was a senior Fellow before taking a leave of absence to join the Reagan campaign. The institution published a monograph by University of Southern California economist Ross Eckert entitled *The Enclosure of Ocean Resources*, which takes the view that any international regulatory regime is likely to prove disruptive, and possibly fatal, to marketplace mechanisms and free trade. The Administration attack on the treaty can therefore also be seen as an expansion into the international arena of its general hostility to regulation in the name of "economic efficiency."

Weidenbaum, an arch-foe of Federal regulations as co-editor of the American Enterprise Institute's journal *Regulation*, was one of the key speakers at the W.A.C. forum in Pittsburgh last June. Although his address was the standard one—about how "excessive" government regulation is shifting initiative away from the private sector—it was readily integrated into the panel report on strategic minerals decision making, being linked directly to a paper presented by John Norton Moore, a former ambassador to the Law of the Sea Conference. The forum's general chairman, William Roesch of U.S. Steel, introduced this report as a review "of the degree to which international and domestic regulations have an impact on our country's efforts to remain economically healthy in an era of imported resources dependency," adding that there was a need "for a realistic assessment of the effect these forms of regulation have on our country's future."

The sea treaty debate also aligns the nationalist-protectionist sector of the business community against the internationalists. The former is made up of the old manufacturing companies of the Frost Belt, like those in Pittsburgh, which dominate the conservative wing of the Republican Party. The latter comprises the international banks and corporations, which stand to gain most from the flow of capital and profits across international borders. [See Jeff Frieden, "The Coming Trade War at Home," *The Nation*, April 18.] Elliot Richardson, commenting in *The Washington Star* on the Administration's decision to review the draft text of the treaty, remarked that "this is an issue which appears to be drawn between the internationalists and the free marketers." Rejection of the treaty in its current form would be a direct rejection of the negotiating strategy guaranteeing access to Third World resources and markets, which, at least in the second half of the 1970s, the international branch of U.S. capital seemed keen to promote.

Thus it is of some significance that one of the individuals dropped from the U.S. delegation to the Law of the Sea Conference was John Temple Swing, vice president and secretary of the Council on Foreign Relations and a strong supporter of the internationalist view. Swing had quoted with approval Richardson's comment, after last year's (apparently) successful negotiating session, that historians would look back on the Law of the Sea Treaty as "the most significant single event in the history of peaceful cooperation and the development of the rule of law since the founding of the United Nations itself." The Reagan Administration has appointed people like Malone and his deputy, Charles Horner. Horner, who has been delegated responsibility for treaty issues, is a former senior aide to Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan and shares Moynihan's distrust of the U.N. and all that it represents.

Realizing the strength—and the nature—of the opposition to the Law of the Sea Treaty, the heads of several foreign delegations to the negotiations have sensed that their only hope of salvaging a workable treaty will be to go directly to Secretary of State Haig (who has already intervened with the Office of Management and Budget to help restore the foreign aid budget), or Charles Percy, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. What success such an approach will have remains to be seen. Those who are optimistic feel that the Reagan Administration eventually will be compelled to bend to the same pressures from international capital that forced President Carter to compromise on his human-rights and nonproliferation policies.

But there are other solutions in the wings, including the idea of a "mini-treaty" involving countries that are able to develop deep-sea mining technology, which agree to respect one another's claims. Unilateral legislation was passed last year by the United States and West Germany—with other countries such as France, the United Kingdom and Italy threatening to do the same if the New York negotiations do not have a satisfactory conclusion. Supporters of the mini-treaty idea suggest that they would not necessarily reject the concept of the seabed as the "common heritage of mankind"—merely redefine the concept as meaning "common access" for exploitation on a first-come, first-served basis. Inevitably, any such move would generate considerable opposition from developing nations, many of which have already made considerable concessions during the negotiations on the treaty, notably, the guarantee of freedom of navigation in their territorial waters. The biggest loser would be the new international economic order strategy for the negotiated redistribution of international wealth, a dream whose rapidly disappearing promise is encouraging the resort to other, less peaceful, means. □

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS & THE ARTS.

'Wisest, and Justest, and Best'

CLARA CLAIBORNE PARK

MASTERS: Portraits of Great Teachers. *Edited by Joseph Epstein. Basic Books. 265 pp. $14.95.*

Rabbi Leib, the hidden zaddik who followed the course of rivers over the face of the earth in order to redeem the living and the dead, spoke these words: "I did not go to the maggid in order to hear Torah from him, but to see how he unlaces his felt shoes and laces them up again." I did not know that story forty years ago, when I took a course with Prof. George Sarton in the history of science from 1500 to 1700. Harvard, then as now, was full of eminent professors. Professor Sarton was one of the most eminent among them; he had virtually created the history of science as a field for study. I entered his course in full expectation of an encounter with seminal ideas which would change entirely the way I conceived of those two extraordinary centuries. But there were, it seemed to me, no ideas of any kind.

Professor Sarton was a gentle little man with a stamp collector's mind. His course was a series of brief, old-fashioned biographies—names, dates, accomplishments—in which giants like Copernicus and Galileo had equal time with Paracelsus, who discovered that minerals had medical properties, Ambroise Paré, who revolutionized surgery, and even Henry Hudson, whom I hadn't heard mentioned since we studied explorers in third grade. The course was scarcely demanding, since although Professor Sarton provided a reading list he assigned no reading. We did have an exam—printed on laid paper in the impressive manner of those days, embossed with the Harvard seal. The first four questions were readily answered by anyone who had come to class, listened and written things down. The fifth question, however, was completely unexpected. "Why," asked Professor Sarton, "on earth did you take this course?"

I wrote an excellent answer, since my reasons for taking the course had been kept vivid in my mind by outrage and disappointment. I described the reasons but not the outrage, and was further surprised when called in to be presented with a prize—a facsimile of the 1628 edition of William Harvey's *De Motu Cordis*. Professor Sarton himself had signed it, and I have it to this day. For a long time I believed that it was the only thing I had taken away from the course with me. At 20, one knows what one is looking for so much more clearly than what one might need to find. Still less can a student be certain what he carries away from a teacher to keep and remember for a lifetime.

It happened that Professor Sarton, in the course of his gentle little biographies, had used two words I had not heard in three years of listening to eminent Harvard professors lecture. "Wicked" was the first. And "noble" was the second. Professor Sarton told us about the wave of witch-burning which swept sixteenth-century Europe, then he told us it was wicked, and that we should not forget it. He told us how John Calvin burned Michael Servetus at Geneva, showing us how to make the upside-down cross that marks the death of a heretic and telling us to put it beside his name in our notes, because it was noble for a man to die for what he believed. The use of those two words was as natural to him as breathing. He was too innocent to guess that they were out of date. And so he restored to me something I hadn't known I had lost—the will to evaluate as well as to understand the world around me.

"The truth," writes Joseph Epstein in his introduction to this collection of portraits, "is that one cannot adequately evaluate a teacher until years after one has sat in his classroom." It is well that I was not asked, as students are today, to fill out an evaluation sheet on Professor Sarton. I would not have given him high marks for his gentleness or his innocence. Not that he was a teacher to be numbered in the company of Alfred North Whitehead and I.A. Richards, of J. Robert Oppenheimer and Yvor Winters, of A.O. Lovejoy and Ruth Benedict, of Hannah Arendt and C.S. Lewis—to name only half the sixteen here memorialized. Yet I thought of Professor Sarton when I read Werner Dannhauser's appreciation of the philosopher Leo Strauss, who taught "what is, perhaps, hardest of all to learn: to become a bit more naïve again." "Instead of 'values,' " writes Professor Dannhauser, "we talked of good and bad; we discussed unhappiness rather than alienation, and things ceased to be dysfunctional—they just did not work." Professor Strauss taught not how to look things up but "how to look up"—*reverence* (the emphasis is Professor Dannhauser's), and what things are worth revering.

Professor Sarton did not need to become naïve again; he had never been anything else. Great scholar that he was, he was a simple thinker and a simple man. The thinking of the men and women celebrated in this volume was anything but simple: witness the revealing quotation from Whitehead on the dangers in being so clear that one overlooks the subtleties of truth. The former students who have written these appreciations have been careful not to overlook subtleties; they have tried to present not only the sense of a human being but the ideas the human being taught and exemplified—not only the felt shoes but Torah as well. Yet one is struck again and again by the simplicity of what is remembered: Yvor Winters looking up from a passage in Hart Crane and exclaiming in astonishment, "What a terrible thing to say!"; F.O. Matthiessen, as I too remember him, leaving to his assistants the reading of our papers, but himself listening to us speak the hundred lines he had asked us to learn by heart. So I learned from him along with "The Ecstasie" that poetry lives not through criticism but through the personal voice and the personal encounter. When Helen Vendler remembers I.A. Richards addressing Apollo entirely without irony, "as if he existed still," she could have chosen nothing more significant to record about his relation to the past and to poetry. So too when she quotes him speaking of a purpose shared with Plato, of "saving society and our souls."

It is so important to the young to be sophisticated, and so easy for teachers to abet them in their wish. Yet the moments we do not forget are the moments when our betters speak to us out

---

Clara Claiborne Park teaches English at Williams College and is the author of The Siege: The First Eight Years of an Autistic Child *(Atlantic–Little, Brown).*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of the depth of their achieved simplicity, moments which can help us too to achieve it if we work hard and live so long. So Professor Dannhauser can speak of "addressing the souls of students," and George Brockway can close his appreciation of John William Miller, whose obscure lifetime of undergraduate teaching can stand, perhaps, for all those thousands of teachers whose only memorial is in their students' mortal memories, with the words in which the greatest of students paid tribute to the greatest of teachers: "Of all the men of his time whom I have known, he was the wisest, and justest, and best." As Professor Epstein reminds us, for Plato "the relationship between student and teacher was characterized by love."

Yet the essays do not melt into sentimentality. Sidney Hook recalls Morris Cohen, embittered by his exclusion, as an immigrant Jew, from the Columbia philosophy department, who taught as "a sanitation engineer sent into the world to free students' minds of intellectual rubbish." Looking back he finds himself shocked at Cohen's "insensitivity and actual cruelty"; although Cohen sincerely believed he respected students, a remark like "the trouble with you, A., is that you can't think" could leave scars that did not heal. Some teachers are gardeners, propping up the tender shoots; Suzanne Hoover's lovely portrait of Nadia Boulanger shows one of these. But the life of the mind needs sanitation engineers too. When reproached for providing no constructive philosophy to put in the place of the errors he had cleared away, Cohen had an answer: even Hercules was only called upon to *clean* the Augean stables.

The human and intellectual variety here is enormous, and whets the appetite for more such essays. A new series will perhaps not be weighted so heavily toward philosophy and literature—here more than half the total—while the natural sciences make do with a single brief contribution, in which Jeremy Bernstein must evoke J. Robert Oppenheimer, Julian Schwinger and Philipp Frank. Another such book will perhaps be better proofread—we have enough evidence that the universe is running down without such phenomena as "sentiment" for "sentient" and "antheist" for "atheist"—though I would be loath to relinquish the bizarre glory of "the noted historian of Science I., Bernard Cohen." As Professor Hook notes, the teacher sculpts in snow; print is a bit more lasting. This is a book to lend to teachers, to give to students, and to keep. □

Shakespeare's Anonymous Editors

Scribe and Compositor in the Folio Text of "2 Henry IV"

Eleanor Prosser. In this pathbreaking study, the scribe and a compositor in Jaggard's printshop are shown to be responsible for many small differences between what Shakespeare wrote and what we find in the Folio Text of "2 Henry IV." As a consequence, 86 Folio readings heretofore adopted as canonical must now be rejected, and the authenticity of accepted readings in other Folio texts must be seriously questioned. Illustrated. $18.50

Stanford University Press

'A Heroine for All Seasons'

JULIA EPSTEIN

JOAN OF ARC: The Image of Female Heroism. *By Marina Warner. Alfred A. Knopf. 384 pp. $17.95.*

Spenser's Titanesse Mutability with her "ever-whirling wheele/ Of Change" reigns over the iconic status of Joan of Arc, a status rendered especially slippery by the fickleness and lethargy of her rehabilitation by the Church. The Inquisition condemned Joan as a heretic and burned her at the stake 550 years ago, on May 30, 1431. An inquiry into her sentence opened in 1450, and resumed in 1452. In 1455 began the *procès en nullité*, and a papal decree rescinded the original verdict against Joan in 1456. Monsignor Dupanloup, bishop of Orléans, placed the first petition for Joan's canonization before the Vatican in 1869. In 1904, Pope Pius X declared Joan venerable; in 1909, the decree of beatification was published. Pope Benedict XV finally made Joan an official saint in 1920. Four years later, George Bernard Shaw's Dunois, in the Epilogue to *Saint Joan*, gave voice to the continual process of historical revision that has accompanied the legend of Joan of Arc: "Half an hour to burn you, dear saint; and four centuries to find out the truth about you!"

Marina Warner's *Joan of Arc* provides an archeological survey of the "cipher" that is Joan: "a boyish stance, cropped hair, medievalised clothes, armour, an air of spiritual exaltation mixed with physical courage." Joan of Arc stands for a figure of protean shifts who represents at once soldier, "gentle parfit knight," visionary, heretic, witch, transvestite, androgyne, Amazon and, finally, innocent peasant girl in Domremy quietly tending her sheep. She has been commemorated in literature by Shakespeare and Shaw, Twain and Anouilh, Schiller and Lamartine. She has been portrayed on stage and in film by Ingrid Bergman, Hedy Lamarr and Jean Seberg. Verdi and Tchaikovsky wrote operas based on her life. Each of these identities and each of these portraits bespeaks a separate strain in the Joan of Arc myth-making process Warner calls "an accretion of semiosis." In order to tap through the strata of emblematic meanings that Joan has acquired, Warner has written not a history or a biography in any conventional sense but an iconology, "the story of how the story came to be told."

The facts about Joan in history are startlingly simple: she heard voices, presented herself to the dauphin, Charles of France as his savior, rallied his troops and defeated the English in the 1429 battle of Orléans. She transformed Charles from wishy-washy pretender to confident leader and witnessed his triumphant 1430 coronation in the cathedral at Rheims. But nine months later, she was captured by the Burgundians at Compiègne, sold to the English, turned over to the Inquisition, tried at Rouen and burned alive. The

Julia Epstein teaches writing and literature at Drexel University.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

question Warner asks is, "How did she happen?" How did an obscure 17-year-old girl from a peasant village convince sophisticated politicians that she should be entrusted with an army?

The first half of Warner's book explores the context of fifteenth-century France in order to uncover the divisions, superstitions and mythologies into which Joan insinuated herself. Warner investigates the political complexities of Charles's pretension to the throne, the tradition of freelance messianism in the Middle Ages, prophecy as an available career for women, the easy invocation of demon and witch in a credulous and guilt-ridden society, the way a woman in male clothing inverts the God-given order and upsets the social hierarchy and the rigid codes of the chivalric ideal. "This was the age," she concludes, "when words, images, legends and emblems formed the thin ice covering the dark pool of social chaos."

The mitre Joan wore to cover her shaven head as she went to the stake bore the Latin inscription of her crimes: *Heretica, Relapsa, Apostata, Idolater.* For her persecutors, Joan of Arc stood for that which is unholy; she was given communion before she died, but denied burial in consecrated ground. Yet almost immediately after her death, the figure of Joan "became a cynosure in the history of ideas about virtue, about women and about heroism." She came to symbolize female excellence and valor, and was lauded as "a national saviour of the glorious French monarchy." She represented a Greek warrior-maiden, a virgin Amazon whose transvestism and armor provided her with an androgynous inviolability. Her chastity made her the figure of female virtue and undefiled wholeness in a medieval *psychomachia*. By the late eighteenth century, she had become a "serious political symbol, a hope of future restoration and unity." She was later compared to Dreyfus because both were "innocent victims of political machinery." Both Charles de Gaulle and Valéry Giscard d'Estaing have invoked her name. Joan of Arc has metamorphosed into "a heroine for all seasons."

Marina Warner covers much ground in *Joan of Arc*, and her detailed research and synthetic presentation offer a fascinating portrait, not just of the historical and the historically transformed Joans but also of how "history lives in relation to its tellers and its receivers." As she examines how the character of Joan of Arc has exfoliated in history, two subtexts emerge. First, Warner interprets and attempts to "demythologize" the concept of heroism itself. Second, she argues persuasively that Joan of Arc "has extended the taxonomy of female types."

"Heroes and heroines," Warner writes, "are often the vessels of our most self-flattering illusions." Revision of historical judgment about heroes according to context and political need, in fact, sullies the heroic image, which merges into cultural archetype only insofar as its partisan details can be transcended. "We want our heroism cut from the air, pristine and timeless, free from all contingencies," argues Warner, "rather than shifting in the soil of circumstance." Heroes and heroines must be unassailable, invulnerable, pure. Hence "Jhenne la Pucelle" (the only name she ever claimed) could be unambiguously heroic despite her aberrations of career, of clothing and of vision because she "had the hero's essential quality, an unshakeable conviction in her rectitude and the rectitude of all her motives, her passions and her enterprises."

In the strongest and most original thesis of this compelling book, Warner proposes that the "wife, mother, mistress, muse" catalogue limits the vocabulary for acceptable female activity; Joan, as a phenomenon, adds to its lexicon. Joan was an upstart, a firebrand and, above all, an autonomous and self-defined woman whose role threatened established social conventions. She successfully navigated the boundary between military aggression and feminine sensibility. As Vita Sackville-West put it, Joan was "as queer a mixture of feminine and masculine attributes as ever relentlessly assaulted the enemy and then wept to see him hurt." More blunt, Shaw says simply that "she was the pioneer of rational dressing for women"; he accuses Twain of depicting her as "an unimpeachable American schoolteacher in armor."

Joan's story, Warner believes, has been told within the restrictive codification of woman's sphere, and has thereby been falsified: "The young Joan of Arc, the sweet-faced child of hagiography, represents the Western attach-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ment to changelessness and our terror of flux." Into this rigidity of image, Marina Warner imposes a persuasive iconological interpretation of Joan's meaning in history and of her spiritual and representational authority. □

A Will to Radicalism

THOMAS DEPIETRO

MATTHEW JOSEPHSON, BOURGEOIS BOHEMIAN. *By David E. Shi. Yale University Press. 313 pp. $19.95.*

Many radicals of the Red 1930s, who retreated into various political positions over the years, originally shared a belief in the redemptive power of revolutionary ideology. For them, Marx was the *primum mobile*, and his economic theories (when read) explained all the evils of industrial capitalism, from the alienation of the intelligentsia to the rise of fascism. Malcolm Cowley, in his memoir of the period, *The Dream of the Golden Mountains* (1980), recalls his righteous identification with the toiling masses, then dismisses his innocent Stalinism (an oxymoron?) as misplaced spiritual yearning. For him, Communism was "the only crusading religion" and the party functioned as its church. Matthew Josephson, Cowley's close friend and fellow reformed Dadaist, worshipped no such false gods, as David E. Shi argues in this competent biography.

Cowley accounts for the sudden group transition from Dada to Papa Karl by arguing that the events of the 1930s—the rumblings of fascism in Europe and the impending economic doom in America—forced expatriate intellectuals to reject their mindless hedonism in favor of committed social realism. In his review of Cowley's spiritual autobiography [see "Alienation à la Mode," *The Nation*, July 5, 1980], Christopher Lasch questions Cowley's sudden about-face. He argues instead that a putative revolutionary of the 1930s, such as Cowley, still absorbed by his troubled personal life, merely extended his role as "a prototypical consumer, inside dopester and decipherer of trends—political, cultural and gastronomic." Josephson, who first seduced Cowley with the bohemianism of expatriate life in Paris, apparently underwent no such pattern of conversion, rejection and redemption. As Shi argues, his career follows "a sequential intellectual progression" with an "underlying unity of values at work behind such a spectacular transition of ideology."

In order to test Shi's thesis, we need to backtrack. From a youth inspired by the nihilism of Dostoyevsky and the dandyism of Wilde, Josephson forged his contempt for the middle-class values of his successful Jewish immigrant parents. At Columbia University and in Greenwich Village, Josephson, together with his friends Kenneth Burke, William Slater Brown, Hart Crane and, of course, Cowley, celebrated their newly found freedom of sex and self-expression. They dared to be modern, attacking bad art and bourgeois morality. Severing ties with tradition and respectability, the new radicals welcomed the realities of modern, machine-age civilization with its imagery of speed, energy and movement. In their esthetic view, the lyrics of surrealism deliberately echoed the rhythms of industry and the language of advertising. In an essay for the little magazine *Broom* in 1922, Josephson matched the literary qualities of Keats's "beaded bubbles winking at the brim" with the line from a soup advertisement, "meaty marrowy oxtail joints."

Although he fancied himself an outsider, alienated from mainstream America, Josephson's ideals coincided nicely with the emergent American culture of consumption. Edmund Wilson, later a political ally of Josephson's, challenged the young esthete's early industrial reveries. "Do not try to make pets out of the machines," he wrote, nor "fling away the rope that unites you with the past." But Josephson ignored Wilson's warnings, preferring instead his liberated *Life Among the Surrealists*, as he entitled his 1962 memoir.

Suddenly, though, Josephson, like his French friend and alter ego, the poet Louis Aragon, substituted the "will to radicalism and activism" for a life previously dedicated to autonomou creation and endless self-explorati Was Josephson, like Cowley, mere changing his clothes, handing in ca and cane for the worker's soile denims? Was leftist ideology ju another set of ideas to be consume promulgated and discarded with la year's little magazines?

Josephson's transition from cultur radical to political activist, while not a abrupt as Cowley's nor as smooth as Sl suggests, nevertheless resulted from h cultivated desire to go against the grai Returning to New York in 192 Josephson hoped to continue as cu tural advance man, but longed to ear a living with more congenial labo Financially successful but unhappy i his work as a Wall Street stockbroke Josephson now sought "to gain socia acceptance, economic security, and pro fessional recognition." Along the way he lost the youthful need to rebel replacing it with a respect for the com monplaces and traditions of middle class life. After he abandoned th demoralizing world of high capitalis finance, Josephson made a livin freelancing and writing popula biographies of Rousseau and Zola.

It was not until 1930 that he found hi genuine political voice: Charles Beard the eminent radical historian an Josephson's Connecticut neighbor, in spired him to write the muckraking classic, *The Robber Barons* (1934)—a brilliant, dramatic exposé of the corrup practices of American businessmen. Armed now with a solid understanding of Marx (compare this to Cowley's passing acquaintance), Josephson entered the left-liberal world of the fellow traveler. From his editorial position on *The New Republic*, Josephson criticized, analyzed and prosyletized as he witnessed the promises of revolutionary Russia, the horrors of Hitler and the triumph of war-industrial America.

Throughout the literary-political uproar of the 1930s and 1940s, Josephson hoped to continue as cultural advance man, but longed to earn a living with some more congenial labor. the party-line, proletarian esthetic for fiction, he developed his Beard-influenced history of American capital, rounding out his trilogy with *The Politicos* (1938) and *The President Makers* (1940). In his memoir, *Infidel in the Temple* (1967), Josephson tells an anecdote that well illustrates his

Thomas DePietro is a member of the English department at the University of Virginia. He is the Southern regional coordinator of P.E.N.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

rewd understanding of political life. a party in 1933, Josephson met "the ocalyptic" Whittaker Chambers, ıose mental stability Josephson quick- suspected. As Chambers began reaming about the end of capitalism come about that week, Josephson ıiced his doubts about the possibility violent revolution in America. The ysterical and paranoid Chambers anded Josephson a "capitalist ooge" and a "spy," challenging him ı an exchange of blows. Fortunately, iends interceded, but Josephson left ınvinced of the intellectual stupidity nd moral blindness rampant among ıany revolutionary zealots.

Although he remembers the heyday f American radicalism with the advan- ıge of hindsight, one thing is certain: ıe realities of the Nazi-Soviet pact, the ailure of the Popular Front and the isappointment of the later Moscow ials forced Josephson to revise his Marxism, to synthesize his long dor- ıant regard for French Enlightenment ıumanism with his tarnished radical deology. During the "Great Fear" of he 1950s, Josephson rallied the bat- ered left in the pages of *The Nation*, ex- coriating those trendy, messianic Marx- ists who now embraced capitalism with an equal fervor. Tired, but not beaten, Josephson continued to write biog- raphies (of Stendhal and Hugo) and journalism until his death in 1978. In- deed, his unfinished last work was a rebuttal of Allen Weinstein's scurrilous indictment of Alger Hiss, *Perjury: The Hiss-Chambers Case.*

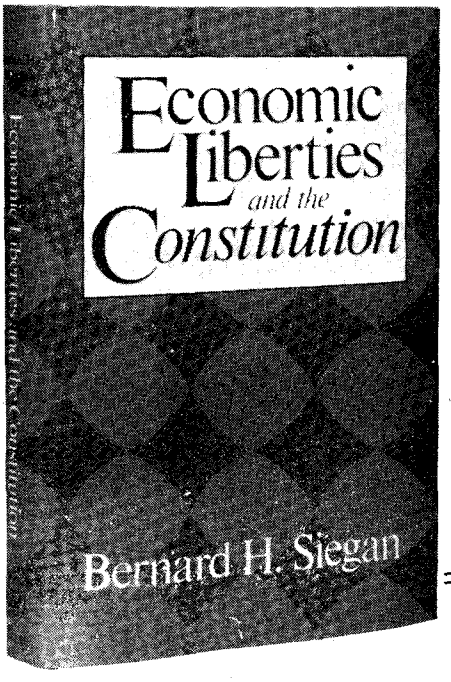
Shi finds Josephson's life fraught with contradictions: conflicts between bourgeois and bohemian (hence the awkward title); artist and journalist; ac- tivist and analyst. While it is true that Josephson, like Cowley, may have longed for a home in the country, this doesn't betray his political beliefs. Shi accepts Josephson's guilt-ridden jour- nal entries at face value, criticizing him for desires which are not necessarily an- tithetical to his radical politics. Is a left- ist intellectual obligated to relinquish all his worldly goods? Perplexed by an ex-Stalinist who was not a disillusioned, anti-Communist Jeremiah, Shi misses Josephson's genuine failings: his early refusal to acknowledge the disparity between his public revolutionary stance and his private political doubts; his inability to revise his Marxism in light of American radical tradition and potential; and his reliance, in his trilogy, on an outmoded, at times un- thinking, economic determinism. David Shi, who is trained as a historian, defin- itively assembles the facts of Josephson's life but, unfortunately, he lacks the critical acumen and political savvy necessary to assess his subject's wide achievement. □

Join the Nation Associates, a loyal and committed group of our readers who provide invaluable support for the magazine through annual contributions of $50 and up (annual membership includes a one-year subscription to *The Nation* and participation in a variety of Nation Associates activities).

For further information, please write or call Claudine Bacher at (212) 242-8400.

"This timely and important book

shows how far we have drifted from protecting basic liberties that the Framers of the Constitution sought to secure. I recommend it highly."– **Edwin Meese**, Counselor to the President



ECONOMIC LIBERTIES and the CONSTITUTION

Bernard H. Siegan

In this challenging book, Siegan declares that, if the Supreme Court were doing its job as the Framers of the Constitution and the Fourteenth Amendment intended, the nation would be much less burdened with excessive economic regulation. He points out that, while the Court is zealous in terminating state laws that threaten free expression, sexual privacy, or religious observance, since the 1940s it has done nothing about laws that limit the right of individuals or private corporations to engage in legitimate economic activities.

The result has been to give governments at all levels much greater power over the economic system and to harm society by inhibiting production, raising prices, curtailing competition and creating unemployment. Those most often harmed, concludes Siegan, are those who were supposed to be protected – people on the lowest rung of the economic ladder. 383 pages. $19.50

The University of Chicago Press
5801 Ellis Avenue, Chicago IL 60637

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Through the Window

JERRY GRISWOLD

OUTSIDE OVER THERE. *By Maurice Sendak. Harper & Row. Unpaginated. $12.95.*

This appears to be the Year of Sendak. On its eve, Harry N. Abrams published a kind of program with Selma Lane's comprehensive *The Art of Maurice Sendak*. The last several months have seen the openings of four operas or musicals in which Sendak has had a hand. Now comes *Outside Over There*, which Harper & Row has placed on both its juvenile and adult lists. This dual recognition testifies to Sendak's unique success with the picture book and to the way he has, at the age of 52 and in more than seventy-five books, almost single-handedly raised the form to a pre-eminence equal to that of the novel.

Little of this daring was present, however, in his work of the 1950s, when he was serving his apprenticeship illustrating the stories of others or coining his own stories and pictures about daydreamers and introverted loners who stare out the window (*Kenny's Window*) at a life taking place over there (*Very Far Away*). The breakthrough came with *The Sign on Rosie's Door* (1960), when Sendak went through the window and (in his words) "outside over there" to create Rosie—an irrepressible Brooklyn kid who swaggers on stage in a boa and her mother's high heels and whose infectious manner shows that she is daring personified.

The prize-winning *Where the Wild Things Are* (1963) and *In the Night Kitchen* (1970) introduced similarly audacious kids. And both took on a world of taboo feelings that were not widely discussed before the time of Bruno Bettelheim and *Lord of the Flies*. Having been sent to bed without supper because of his mischief, Max exorcizes his rage against his parents by intimidating the adult-size monsters known as Wild Things and then returns to find his dinner waiting for him; Mickey plays with and in food as he tumbles out of his dream and clothes and into the Night Kitchen until he trumpets his "Cock-a-Doodle Doo!" and slides back into bed.

The turning point of his career, Sendak reckons, came with *The Juniper Tree* (1973) and the attention it received from those who had previously dismissed him in a patronizing fashion as an artist simply for children. In the pictures he created for twenty-seven tales by Grimm (translated by Randall Jarrell and Lore Segal), Sendak presented a brooding, claustrophobic beauty that rivals Dürer. Moreover, in this work and three years later in Jarrell's *Fly by Night*, Sendak demonstrated that he was an interpretive artist and not just an illustrator.

Outside Over There is Sendak's best work by far. It marks the apogee of the picture book form, a simply profound story told in incantatory words and color drawings of stunning beauty. In creating the 359-word tale, Sendak is said to have been drawn to such childhood memories as the Lindbergh kidnapping and to have listened exclusively to Mozart to evoke the ambiance for the book's Grimm setting in rural eighteenth-century Germany.

Outside Over There is about jealousy and sibling rivalry. Sendak's treatment of this subject might appear simple; instead, it is deeply accurate. The story belongs to Ida, a girl of some 9 years, and when it opens her baby sister has already arrived. Ida's parents have withdrawn: Papa is away at sea, Mama is lost in vacant thought and (pictorially) even the family's protective German shepherd doe not see the danger—goblins stealin up the lawn with Bruno Hauptmann' ladder.

While Ida turns her back upon th baby and plays the musical instrumen known as her "wonder horn," th goblins steal into the nursery, kidnaj her sister and leave a changeling mad of ice. When Ida turns and embrace the baby it is, like most, drippingly wet but when the changeling melts away Ida discovers the goblins' theft and in a rage turns maternal: putting on Mama's cloak she sets out upon a rescue mission. She heads through the window tc "outside over there." This is the region known in dreams, where the Wild Things are, where the Night Kitchen is, where—to mention the place Rumpelstiltskin's name is heard in the Grimm tale—the fox and the hare bid each other goodnight. And for Sendak, to whom this image is important, it lies on the other side of the window.

Ida is aerial and floats there over a haunting and mysterious landscape where a shepherd has fallen asleep unmindful of his flock and where below can be seen the dark, libidinous caves where the robber bridegrooms have taken her sister. But in going outside over there, Ida made "a serious mistake." A clue comes to her in a riddlelike song she hears floating over the water and sung by her sailor Papa: "If Ida backwards in the rain/would only turn around again/and catch the goblins with a tune/she'd spoil their kidnap honeymoon!" Ida's mistake is to have gone out the window backward on her rescue mission; there is in this a kind of reluctance and unwillingness, "so Ida tumbled right side round."

She finds herself smack in the middle of a goblin wedding and discovers that beneath their hoods these goblins all look like her baby sister. Slyly, she starts what Max in the *Wild Things* calls a "rumpus" and what Ida styles a "hubbub"; playing a captivating tune on her wonder horn, she sets the goblins dancing and sends them into such extremes of pleasure that they cannot control themselves or others. A kind of Pied Piper with a *Zauberflöte*, Ida churns the goblins' revelry until they all dissolve into a watery stream. By this magic trick Ida separates the real baby from the goblin impostors and finds her own sister crooning in an eggshell.

It is a new Ida, then, changed and

Jerry Griswold teaches children's literature at San Diego State University.

MOVING??

Please allow us 6 weeks notice.
New Address:

name

address

city state zip

Mail To: The Nation
P.O. Box 1953
Marion, Ohio 43305

Please send an address label from a recent issue along with your new address to help us speed the change. Thank you.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

protective, who hugs her sister and takes her home. There she meets Mama reading a letter to Ida from her Papa: "I'll be home one day, and my brave, bright little Ida must watch the baby and her Mama for her Papa, who loves her always." Just as for any child jealous of her sibling, Ida must be reassured by the last word of the letter; still, the fatherly advice is beside the point since we already know with Sendak, as the book concludes, that this "is just what Ida did."

Like *Wild Things* and *Night Kitchen*, *Outside Over There* legitimizes taboo feelings by showing their simultaneity and reversibility. In some way, Ida's playing the wonder horn evokes the goblins who kidnap her sister but also dissolves them so Ida can rescue her sister. Like Sendak's other books, the pages of this one fold in upon each other so that felt withdrawal of the parents in its opening is answered with the reassurance of "always" love in its conclusion.

And all of this is done making use of the unique form of the picture book. Apropos the eighteenth-century German setting, Sendak's pictures have a golden, old-masterly look. The incidentals of these pictures are also there to reify the story; Ida is often surrounded by sunflowers, and these not only exaggerate her smallness (in the manner, say, of Rousseau or Sargent) but, in their heliotropic orientation toward her, reveal something of her wish for exclusivity. So, too, the syncopation of word to page shows Sendak making complete use of the possibilities of the picture book so that, for example, the puzzling fact of Ida's having made "a serious mistake" ends a right-hand page ripe for turning.

The words themselves are a kind of magic and reach a climax in the gnomic song Ida hears to solve her problem. Sendak himself has puzzled over these and, in a psychoanalytic fashion, wondered about this story given by his unconscious. He speculates that the name of his heroine might be related to Id. He also notes a resemblance between the line, "If Ida backwards in the rain," and a reverse spelling of his mother's name, Sadie. Whatever the case, her name seems a magically appropriate idea when this story about a sister's rescue comes to a close, when Sendak's own voice can be heard in its last words ("which is just what Ida did") and when the reader can sympathetically agree: "this is just what I'd've done." □

THEATER.

RICHARD GILMAN

Woyzeck
Leonce and Lena

German drama has for a long time been among the most fecund in the world and at the moment is perhaps the richest, most innovative of all. At the back of this is Georg Büchner, that remarkable, unaccountable genius who died at 23 in 1837, leaving only three plays. Büchner was wholly unknown for almost fifty years until he was discovered by Hauptmann and other naturalists in the 1870s, but since then he has been a boundless source of inspiration and ideas for German-speaking playwrights from Wedekind to Brecht and down to Peter Handke, Thomas Bernhard and Franz Xaver Kroetz.

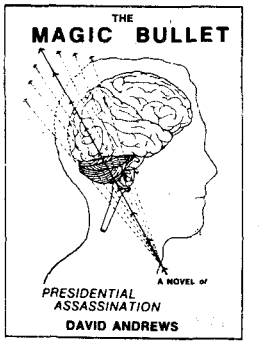
Before the middle 1960s, when Jules Irving and Herbert Blau began their ill-fated regime at Lincoln Center with an ambitious (and, sadly, inept) production of *Danton's Death*, Büchner was almost unknown here. Since then we have had several productions of *Danton*, even more of *Woyzeck* and one or two of *Leonce and Lena*, Büchner's only "comedy" and least regarded work. Now, an enterprising group in New York City called the Classic Stage Company has given us a double bill of *Woyzeck* and *Leonce and Lena*, and for all the production's shortcomings I'm grateful for its presence.

The C.S.C.'s *Woyzeck* is the less effective of the two, particularly when compared with some recent productions, including one at the Public Theater a couple of years ago with Joseph Chaikin in the title role, and the movie by Werner Herzog, which was almost a filmed stage play. (The best production I've seen was by the Bavarian State Theater some years ago.) For one thing, the company's small stage and penchant for mostly black and white decor ought to serve for intimacy and a necessary degree of abstraction, but instead feel at variance with the play's gritty, claustrophobic texture and depths of social horror. It's all too cold here, too much on the surface, too spick-and-span.

Unforgettable, or $100 Refund

J.F.K. MURDER DISCOVERIES

- **Nonfiction Document**—authoritative medical evidence (from Texas), clearly indicating President Kennedy was shot from BELOW, UPWARD—by a device within limousine? The concept fits the facts exactly.



- **Major Novel**—THE MAGIC BULLET: A fascinating exploration of "the deadly limousine" concept; by David Andrews, MS, Graduate of UNC Medical School and Duke, author of seven widely-acclaimed books.
- **Document**: $2.50 ea., ppd.; 5 for $10.
- **Novel**: $8.00 each, ppd.; 5 for $30.

PLANETARY PRESS (Dept. N)
P.O. Box 4641
Baltimore, MD 21212
Gifts For Ad Costs Needed

ADVERTISEMENT

CHANGE BY CATASTROPHE

Art never blunders. Politicians, businessmen do. When art, the early warning radar, goes abstract, break-up threatens. This calls for great change.

Supply-side economics is the old trickle-down theory. It is not enough. So we may have change by catastrophe and not through rational thinking.

Japan and Sweden have little unemployment, and so, little crime; no nuclear weapons and so, little sense of insecurity. We need full employment and disarmament to feel secure again—and both soon.

We need a small Intercontinental Congress of great powers—perhaps eight leaders from each side—to end the present tensions.

We need more enthusiasm for full employment and for full disarmament, and much less for weapons for juntas (as in El Salvador).

David Mandel,
Perth Amboy, New Jersey 08861

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Another problem is what the company does with the text. As is well known, the twenty-seven or -eight short scenes were left at Büchner's death in no fixed sequence, and this has resulted in a certain liberty for interpreters. In this case, Christopher Martin, who directed and made a new English version, has chosen to end the play with a scene I think should logically and esthetically have come earlier. What's more, he has the play's last words—a description of Woyzeck as "the dogmatic atheist, tall, haggard, timid, good-natured, scientific"—spoken by one of the other characters, whereas in all other versions it's a stage direction, a summing up on the part of the author.

As for the English itself, Martin's rendering is mostly satisfactory, although there are several places where his choices seemed to me wrong, or inadequate. One is in the scene where Woyzeck has been knocked down by the drum major, who has been cuckolding him, and utters the most astounding and hair-raising understatement: "one thing after another." Martin has him say ". . . after *the* other," which misses the effect of the conventional phrase, which we use to describe the ordinary knocks of experience and which in this context of suffering and despair is therefore so shattering to hear. A small point, perhaps, as is Martin's "when we poor people get to heaven we'll have to work the thunder" for ". . . *help with* the thunder," but such distinctions distinguish great translations from merely serviceable ones.

The acting is of the same serviceable order, except for Karen Sunde. She plays Marie, Woyzeck's common-law wife—whose infidelity brings about her death at his hands—without charm or passion. As Woyzeck, Robert Stattel is energetic and clear—too clear, as it happens. He lacks the grimy, afflicted, sad-sack yet burning quality of this character of "double nature," this victim of the way things are. He doesn't seem to hear "a terrible voice." He isn't mysterious enough, the way, for example, Chaikin was in an otherwise nondescript production. Chaikin, puffy, sweating, stammering, was a splendid incarnation of this first antihero in drama, a painful, immensely disturbing presence, whereas Stattel, competent as he is, makes you have to go back to the text to complete his character.

For all my strictures, I admired the company's vigor and willingness to take chances. The risk is even greater with *Leonce and Lena* than with *Woyzeck*, since the former work is so infrequently done and seems so thematically and procedurally remote from Büchner's other works. Yet the play has been unjustly neglected (I undervalued it myself for years) and when done right reveals a wonderfully witty side of Büchner, what we might think of as his powerful sense of absurdity (a century before the theatrical genre was so named) in its lighter or less somber mode. The current production has flaws but I thought it lively and effective, very much in the right spirit.

Leonce and Lena is a play about an invented kingdom in which the vices of real kingdoms are exposed. Büchner's political sense, so highly developed and so unprogrammatically radical, here works mockingly with both the actualities of power and the theatrical tradition of plays about power. The cast mostly performs smoothly and well and is distinguished by the presence of a really fine comic actor named Eric Tavaris in the important role of Valerio. With skills ranging from those of a vaudeville hoofer to a medicine show hawker, with something of the Borscht Belt *tummler* thrown in, Tavaris is a distinct pleasure to watch. □

FILMS.

ROBERT HATCH

I Sent a Letter to My Love
Cocktail Molotov
Café Express
Second Hand Hearts

The plot of Moshe Mizrahi's *I Sent a Letter to My Love*, from a novel by Bernice Rubens, suggests one of those chess problems that appear on magazine puzzle pages. It sets up a situation that you would not expect to encounter in the normal course of things but which permits the author to demonstrate the laws of human behavior in particularly dramatic and concentrated terms. It is the sort of device that Henry James liked, though I'm not suggesting that the film is at his level of sensitive discrimination.

Louise (Simone Signoret), a spinster of about 50, lives with and cares for her younger brother, Gilles (Jean Rochefort), who is confined to a wheelchair. They live reclusively in the house where they were born, a house set splendidly above a cliff-sheltered beach on, I believe, the coast of Normandy. Their single companion is Yvette (Delphine Seyrig), the baker's no longer young but still comely daughter, who arrives each morning with a loaf of bread and a new grievance against the state of the world.

The relationship between brother and sister is not comfortable; indeed, it is dangerously abrasive. When we first see Gilles he is peering through a telescope, whispering in delight the while. One assumes a nymph on the beach, but the trapped man is reveling vicariously in the feeling of sea, sand and the rocky escarpment on his flesh. Louise is a woman of impressive outward poise, efficient, humorous, quick-witted, sharp of tongue; she is one of Signoret's most strongly modeled creations. The two people are mutually dependent, mutually tormenting—she from suppressed resentment, he sour with guilt. And the prudishly flirtatious Yvette is their sole and all too easy scapegoat.

One day, after Gilles has survived what may have been a serious heart attack, Louise places a personal notice in the local paper seeking a correspondent; she gives an assumed name and a post-office address. To her startled amusement, Gilles replies. Thus begins an exchange of confidences and avowals, a relationship of romantic hope that soon dominates both of their stony lives. Louise discovers in her brother generous and gallant qualities that she had not suspected. She replies in kind to his ardor, telling herself the deceit is justified by the good it so obviously does him, and they both flourish in the emotional outpourings of this strange and perilous correspondence.

I will follow the ingenuities of the story no further. It is, as I said, a rather contrived tale, but a contrivance marvelously suited to the skills of its three players. Signoret's talent for conveying nuances of feeling edged with satire is widely known; Mizrahi gave her a free run in *Madame Rosa* and won himself an Oscar. Rochefort, recognized as a serious actor in France, has been seen here playing raffish chaps in rather sleazy movies (*Pardon Mon Affaire*, for example). This time he is given work that is both darker and more nourishing: the role of a high-spirited man caged by physical disability is a

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

east for any accomplished actor, and Rochefort is at moments formidable as he frustrated Gilles.

Seyrig, a match for her two colleagues, feigns primness to disguise her impulses, opening wide her eyes to hide their shrewdness and making quicksilver of her part in the bizarre affair. However contrived the plot, the details of its triangular relationship ring true. *I Sent a Letter to My Love* is a triumph of perceptive acting—and discriminating direction. It is a wonder, though, that so appetizing a film should have been burdened with that title. In France it is called *Cher Inconnu*, which carries an appropriate double meaning and would have served well enough in translation.

Anne, a lycée student in Paris, wants to sleep with her boyfriend. Deprived of the opportunity by her mother and stepfather, she calls the former a cold bitch and they battle each other to the floor. She then packs a knapsack, steals the money in her mother's purse and sets off for a kibbutz in Israel, accompanied by Fred and Bruno (I now forget which of them is the lover, which the loyal friend). They get as far as Venice, where their car is stolen by a rich young woman who operates a bomb factory. In retaliation, they steal a Molotov cocktail, which later they toss down a ravine, igniting the woods, and hitchhike back to Paris. Anne's return is delayed by a detour to Switzerland for an abortion arranged by her understanding natural father, but the boys make it back in time to be arrested in the closing hours of the May 1968 uprising. As in a Tom and Jerry cartoon, everyone gets considerably knocked around, but no one is hurt—a discontinuity of cause and effect that I've long deplored.

Diane Kurys's *Cocktail Molotov*, a sequel of sorts to her *Peppermint Soda*, is a picture that makes me feel my years—not because its characters are so young but because they seem to me so unpromising. Their resentments are undifferentiated, their conversation is ignorant; they act on impulses channeled by no goals or convictions, and therefore they depress me. Perhaps Kurys intends that they should; perhaps they also depress her. But in that case she should not have presented them as appealing children on an extended picnic. The players are Elise Caron, Philippe Lebas and François Cluzet. They are as handsome as race horses.

The assumption is that if you liked Nino Manfredi in *Bread and Chocolate* you will like him in *Café Express*. Perhaps so; the writer-director, Nanni Loy, is different, but the character is much the same. However, there was anger beneath the surface antics of the earlier film; this time there is only sentimentality.

Manfredi is again a meek but quick-witted opportunist, hanging on by his fingernails. He peddles coffee on the night train south from Rome. It is an illegal enterprise, for he has no license, and the running joke of the picture is the dexterity with which this Michele Abbagnano eludes the railroad police, who pursue him back and forth through the cars with the enterprise of a gaggle of Keystone Kops. The sentiment is provided by the coffee merchant's need of money to buy an operation for his sick little son, who is also aboard the train and in the end the hero of the expedition.

Manfredi is a funny man (when he isn't being pathetic) and the picture offers enough gags to sustain itself, but for all the bedlam among a kaleidoscope of picturesque passengers, nothing much happens during the long night. Even more than *Bread and Chocolate*, it is a showcase for the star. He is obviously a vivacious actor; given the chance, I suspect he could be a good deal more.

I went to a screening of *Second Hand Hearts* on the assumption that the title must be satiric. But not at all—the film is a salute to the dregs of the human barrel, who are to be loved, not to say admired, for their awfulness. Loyal Muke (Robert Blake) is an incompetent slob with the charm of a cold fried egg. Dinette Dusty, his wife, has the brains, along with the maternal drive, of a mother hen. Their life together is sordid, hopeless and boring, and they are smugly satisfied with it. They are enough to make you despair for the future of democracy. The picture is not, as it implies, about little people fighting bravely for a place in society; it is about the human race running out. Written by Charles Eastman and directed by Hal Ashby, it was originally called *The Hamster of Happiness*. If they hadn't changed the title, I might have spared myself a couple of miserable hours. □

CLASSIFIED.

BUSINESS OPPORTUNITIES

EARN $500/week with product used by 95% of homes and businesses. Details, $1, AMP, Box 6956, B'ham, AL 35210.

LOANS AVAILABLE
WE ARE EXEMPT FROM FEDERAL CONTROLS
Stull BANK & TRUST
An International Bank
120 Wall St. Dept. 1044 NYC 10005

$100; $480 Weekly: Legal easy money. Details with self-addressed stamped envelope. C.I., PO Box 5787, San Bernardino, CA 92410.

EARN $1,000 MONTHLY
In your spare time, working at home one or two hours a day. Guaranteed. FREE DETAILS. Write
TOTAL LIVING INSTITUTE
1836 Euclid Ave. Dept. 52
Cleveland, Ohio 44115

WAYS TO INCREASE YOUR INCOME. Investment advice, bus. opps. Send 2 stamps. Parson Mkt., PO Box 604-TN, New York, NY 10031.

ART

Agent wanted by painter; have shown successfully. JMG, 2128 Wyo. Ave. Washington, DC 20008.

MERCHANDISE

the cotton place
PURE COTTON CLOTHING
American made, sturdy. 14 styles. 10 colors. Also Chinese shoes, cotton hammocks, cotton sheets, shower curtains & other good things! Send for FREE CATALOG.
good things collective
52 Main St., Dept. TN4
Northampton, MA 01060

MISCELLANEOUS

49 Biblical Contradictions, $3.00; Discovery, Box 20331-TN, West Valley City, UT 84120.

PERDUE CHICKEN BOYCOTT—for free information about a labor struggle against a vicious, exploitative employer, write or call Perdue Boycott Committee, 5901 Harford Road, Baltimore, MD 21214. (301) 426-7700.

"How To Save 30% to 50% on Electric Bill," $4.95. Venture Enterprises, 4400 Sarah St. #2TN, Burbank, CA 91505. 10-day money-back guarantee!

Inflation? Abortion? Big Military? Your opinion? Postal cards only. Postal Poll, Box 165, Fairless Hills, PA 19030.

BE HEARD IN WASHINGTON! Votergrams. 2 pre-addressed post cards to President, Senator, Representative—6 total. Send $3. Goldengrove, Box 507-VTN, Lutherville, MD 21093. Express your opinions!

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED.

CLASSIFIED.

TRAVEL

Cruise England's lovely canals. ENGLAND AFLOAT, Box 2083, Springfield, MA 01101. Tel. (413) 736-5937.

MOUNTAIN HOT-SPRINGS HOTEL in private valley: sunshine, swimming, massage, rest. Room & meals from $25 daily. Brochure: Apdo 1-1187, Guadalajara, Mexico.

Come to Hawaii, $95.00 per week per person for room and board. Write Vegetarian Center, PO Box 1116, Pahoa, HI 96778.

People's Republic of Mongolia and Siberia 3 week exploratory tour beginning July 5 can accept limited number of interested people. For itinerary and cost contact Promoting Enduring Peace, Box 5103, Woodmont, CT 06460.

REAL ESTATE

CHICAGO BOUND? Live in Oak Park—unique urban suburb. Classic architecture, active diverse population, excellent library and schools. Just 15 minutes from downtown Chicago by public transportation. Free housing referral service—brochures, too. Contact Donna, OAK PARK HOUSING CENTER, 1041 South Blvd., Oak Park, IL 60302. (312) 848-7150.

NORTH IDAHO ROCKY MOUNTAIN ACADEMY FOR SALE. 120 acre "work-study-adventure" retreat. Lodge, farmhouse, duplex, sleep 46. Pasture, timber, creeks. $450,000.00. Other North Idaho properties. The Rocky Mountain Co., Box 1547, Sandpoint, ID 83864. (208) 263-5201.

ASSOCIATIONS

New Education Organization to counter rhetorical dogma of New Right needs financial support. People for a Safe Environment, 6114 Renwick #173B, Houston, TX 77081.

INSURANCE

DONALD SHAFFER ASSOCIATES, INC.

ALL FORMS OF INSURANCE

Specialists in Pension & Employee Benefit Planning

11 GRACE AVENUE, Great Neck, N.Y. 11021

212-895-7005, 516-466-4642

PUBLICATIONS

TECHNOCRACY—TECHNOLOGICAL SOCIAL DESIGN available for one dollar from Technocracy Inc., Continental Headquarters, Savannah, OH 44874.

Get the Independent magazine by Robert Ashworth, featuring economics with a personal touch. Write RTT, PO Box 2161, Bellingham, WA 98227, for sample.

MODERN HAIKU: Premier haiku magazines; cash awards. Sample; $2.50. PO Box 1752, Madison, WI 53701.

"Little Guy's Stock Market Survival Guide"—$5.95. Al Smith, Box 1714N, La Jolla, CA 92038.

FREE SAMPLE: Read the muckraking political newsletter Washington is talking about. Write THE WASHINGTON CRAP REPORT, PO Box 10309, St. Petersburg, FL 33733.

LITERARY SERVICES

AUTHORS WANTED BY NEW YORK PUBLISHER

Leading subsidy book publisher seeks manuscripts of all types: fiction, non-fiction, poetry, scholarly and juvenile works, etc. New authors welcomed. Send for free, illustrated 40-page brochure N. Vantage Press, 516 W. 34 St., New York, N.Y. 10001

THE UNFINDABLE FOUND. For our free and indefatigable Search Service, just send us your "hard-to-find" book wants. No obligation. Bookfinders General, Inc., Dept. NA, 145 East 27th Street, New York, NY 10016.

BIBLIOPHILES. Out of print books, first editions located. Send wants. No obligation. Ron Griswold, Bookfinder. 1811 North Highland Street, Arlington, VA 22201.

VIDEO & FILM

Video cassettes, 16mm, S8, all ratings home use. Huge cat., $1. THUNDERBIRD. Box 65157N. LA. CA 90065.

Rare Political/Historical films on video cassettes. Third Reich films, contemporary Soviet Army documentaries, Eastern European features. Send $1 (refundable) for illustrated catalog. International Historic Films, PO Box 29035, Chicago, IL 60629.

BOOKS

ATHEISM, The Case against God by George Smith, the best book on the subject, 350 page paperback $6.95 Book Service-AR, 2001 St. Clair, St. Louis, MO 63144.

"Let Me Die Before I Wake": Read Hemlock's book or self-deliverance for the dying. Membership $15. In 3 months' time you qualify for the book. Price $10. For details send SASE but no money: Hemlock, #101, 2803 Ocean Park Blvd., Santa Monica, CA 90405.

"How to Execute An Agency" by E. Waterhouse Allen. Wicked, informed satire about Bureaucratic Types you should recognize! Distilled from 50 years' work in human service agencies. 132 pages, 1st ed., ppd. $3.95, BARK-BACK, PO Box 235, Glenshaw, PA 15116.

Works of Meridel Le Sueur, including novel "The Girl," $3.25; last poems of Neruda, $3.25. Catalogue. West End, Box 697, Cambridge, MA 02139.

FACING REACTION, special double issue of RADICAL AMERICA: New Right, Feminism and Anti-feminism, Reaganomics, Cold War II, more. Chomsky, Klare, Gordon, Willis, Ehrenreich and Marable. 160 pp. $4.50 postpaid. 38 Union Square, Somerville, MA 02143.

Unique anthology of poetry: Windflower Home Almanac. Rated among the best from small publishers by Library Journal. $2 plus 65 cents postage. Box 82213, Lincoln, NE 68501.

NIXON'S INAUGURAL STORY. A collector's item. Deluxe illustrated hardbound out-of-print edition. $10. Postpaid. S. Levine, PO Box 174, Canoga Park, CA 91305.

RECIPES

Gourmet's delight! 30 unique, traditional PERSIAN RECIPES. $3.75/booklet. Box 2051, Lawrence, KS, 66045.

Coffee Liqueur, 3 great recipes. SASE and $1 to Recipes, PO Box 3433, Madison, WI 53704.

Grandma's Delicious Italian Cheesecake Recipe. $1. C. Villa, 2065 First Ave. New York, NY 10029.

EDUCATION

Montessori Training this summer in Chicago, June 22-July 31. Serious shortage nationally of Montessori teachers. Live on beautiful campus. Write Montes. T.Tr., 1010 W. Chcgo., Chicago, IL 60622.

HOME STUDY COURSE IN ECONOMICS. A ten-lesson study that will throw light on today's baffling problems. Tuition free—small charge for materials. Write: Henry George Institute, 5 E. 44th St., New York, 10017.

Reading disabled children can read, easier, faster. Free details. Tri-Intah, Box 31-N, Lapoint, UT 84039.

BECOME A DOCTOR OF NUTRIPATHY by correspondence. Info. $13, refundable. American College of Nutripathy, 6821 E. Thomas, Scottsdale, AZ 85251. (602) 946-5515.

EVENTS

Does your organization have lectures, movies or rallies to announce? The Nation will advertise coming events of Public Interest Organizations at a special discount rate of 60¢/word. See the coupon in this section for deadlines.

For the convenience of those who wish to place a classified notice in *THE NATION:*

RATES: $.75 per word, 15 word minimum; telephone and POB numbers count as two words, abbreviations and zip codes as one. Copy deadline 17 days prior to week of publication. Payment must accompany order.

Take advantage of our special offer: place an order for two insertions of your ad, and we will print a third insertion free!

TO: *THE NATION*
Classified Department
72 Fifth Avenue, N.Y. N.Y. 10011

Enclosed is my check for $_____ for my advertisement to run ____ weeks

Advertiser _____

Address _____ City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Copy: _____

Payment in U.S. currency

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PERSONALS

TAKE ADVANTAGE OF SPRING

/ou can reach a sympathetic audience in *The Vation*'s Personals. Order 4 insertions before May 30th ind pay only 60¢ a word. See our coupon in this section.

)ver 40? Single? Seeking meaningful relationships? Write Over 40 Clubs, Box 309, West Chester, PA 19380.

SINGLES WHO THINK read & publish in Contact High. Find out why. Free brochure. Box 500-N, Mendocino, CA 95460.

FOR THE COLLECTOR

FAMOUS LAST LETTERS
BY
Joan of Arc, Henry IV, Marie Antoinette, Napoleon and more; one single set of actual letters, reproduced by the Paris Museum in 1935, available for sale. Nation Box 213.

RARE NEWSPAPERS. Colonial—Civil War eras. Historical reading at lowest prices. Extensive catalogue, 50¢. HUGHES', 2410 North Hills Dr., Williamsport, PA 17701.

BUTTONS, BUMPERSTICKERS

"MEMBER—IMMORAL MINORITY", "U.S. OUT OF EL SALVADOR—NO MORE VIETNAMS!", "IMPEACH REAGAN", "FREE ABBIE!". Buttons—2/$1; 10/$4; 40/$10. Ellen Ingber, Box 752-K, Valley Stream, NY 11582.

"Opposed to abortion? Then don't have one." Bumperstickers, $2 each, 3 for $5. LEIGH'S, PO Box 121561-A, Nashville, TN 37212.

DON'T BLAME ME, I DIDN'T VOTE REPUBLICAN—Buttons, 50¢, 3/$1, 10 or more 30¢ ea. RED ROSE BOOKS, PO Box AA-471, Evanston, IL 60204.

TO HELL WITH THE MORAL MAJORITY bumperstickers, 3-$2.50, 10-$8. Box 4856T, San Diego, CA 92104.

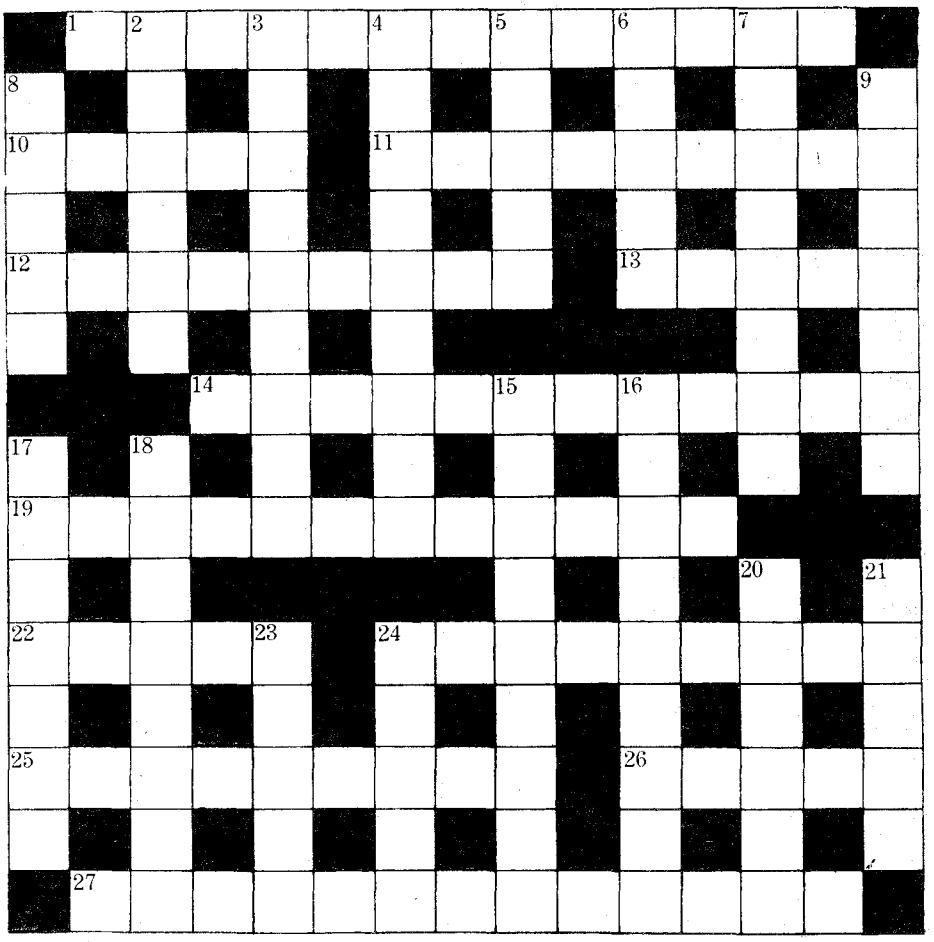
MESSAGES TO CHALLENGE THE REAGAN YEARS WITH: "The Moral Majority is Neither"; "Question Authority"; "Bread Not Bombs"; "Abortion Rights for All Women"; "U.S. Out of El Salvador"; "Don't Mourn—Organize"; Button $1. "Stop Racist Attacks"; "U.S. Out. . ." Labels $1/forty. "No More Vietnams"; "U.S. Out. . ." Bumperstickers $1; $4/dozen. Donnelly/Colt, New Vernon, NJ 07976.

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 1869

M	A	R	G	I	N	A	L	■	C	I	N	E	M	A
A	■	O	■	M	■	N	■	A	■	N	■	A	■	L
N	E	W	S	B	O	Y	■	P	R	O	G	R	A	M
S	■	E	■	R	■	W	■	O	■	N	■	A	■	O
B	U	R	R	O	■	A	S	G	R	E	E	N	A	S
E	■	■	■	G	■	Y	■	E	■	■	■	D	■	T
S	I	B	Y	L	■	S	H	E	E	P	D	O	G	■
T	■	E	■	I	■	■	■	■	■	E	■	U	■	T
■	T	H	E	O	T	H	E	R	■	T	U	T	T	I
F	■	E	■	■	■	E	■	A	■	I	■	■	■	G
R	E	A	R	G	U	A	R	D	■	T	E	R	S	E
I	■	D	■	R	■	T	■	I	■	F	■	A	■	R
E	P	I	T	A	P	H	■	C	H	O	W	D	E	R
N	■	N	■	S	■	S	■	A	■	U	■	I	■	A
D	I	G	E	S	T	■	A	L	A	R	M	I	N	G

Crossword Puzzle No. 1870

FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Sugar-coated ciphers—or just a whisper of them? (5,8)
10 Thus the cap has relative firmness. (5)
11 One of those musical connectors and a hinge, both out of shape. (9)
12 Not much concerned with any egg, so I find, to be scrambled. (4-5)
13 Transgress again, as an important ingredient of our plastic society? (5)
14 Someone like 2 down, with a lot of charisma, a point frequently pointed to. (8,4)
19 Drier, perhaps, made from the color she's mixed. (7,5)
22 Numbered among Sir Joseph Porter's followers—Charley was associated with a well-known one of them. (5)
24 A literary Pope, but great as a military leader. (9)
25 Commonly drunk or daubed on the wall. (9)
26 Here in Paris it comes to a commonly bad end, as a superficial layer. (5)
27 Covers the majority of things animal, vegetable or mineral. (5,3,5)

DOWN

2 Coming from an English principality, a well-known popular leader. (6)
3 A form of pantograph gives a point to what marrying people say on the chart. (9)
4 Fruit, nothing to Parisians on the way up—good food is packed with them! (9)
5 An unspecified object coming out of the night. (5)
6 Found in heavenly veins, or very rich ore. (5)
7 British approval doesn't necessarily imply SRO signs. (4,4)
8 A point in a sort of star . . . (5)
9 . . . and a point in what some bet on, both these and 8 to be what 27 starts with. (7)
15 Having something better than one, as they say. (No tails if such?) (3-6)
16 Share twin-billing with a CIA organization in Central America? (5,4)
17 Tattered and ragged, but still the fighting type. (7)
18 Two apostles and one pope—possibly named Jones . . . (4,4)
20 . . . and the only Englishman to belong in the line before 18. (6)
21 This tore on many a U.S. corner—soft ones associated with the pot, perhaps. (5)
23 In a way, stray creature of the forest. (5)
24 An important part of the arterial system of Australia or Tasmania. (5)

SEE LAST WEEK'S SOLUTION AT LEFT

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

If You're Not Scared to Death by the Country, Try the Nation.

Are you terrified by talk of "limited" or "containable" nuclear war?

> "The notion of a limited nuclear war has been around for a long time in American strategic thinking. . . . It is, perhaps, the most dangerous, as it is the most irrational, of all the spells that the 'alchemists' have cast. For it is in the name of 'surgical strikes' and 'menus' of 'options' that nuclear warfare is being made thinkable—and therefore possible or even probable—once more."
>
> —*E. P. Thompson,* The Nation, *Jan. 24, 1981*

Do you fear the new proposals for "unleashing the intelligence agencies," legalizing wiretapping, bugging and break-ins, and putting informers into anti-nuke organizations? Are you wondering why Senator Strom Thurmond has organized a new Security and Terrorism Subcommittee?

> "The danger represented by the Security and Terrorism boys is that they will move, with the support of the Administration, to legitimize the illegitimate, to make respectable that which was previously done only undercover because it was fundamentally shameful."
>
> —*Victor Navasky,* The Nation, *Feb. 14, 1981*

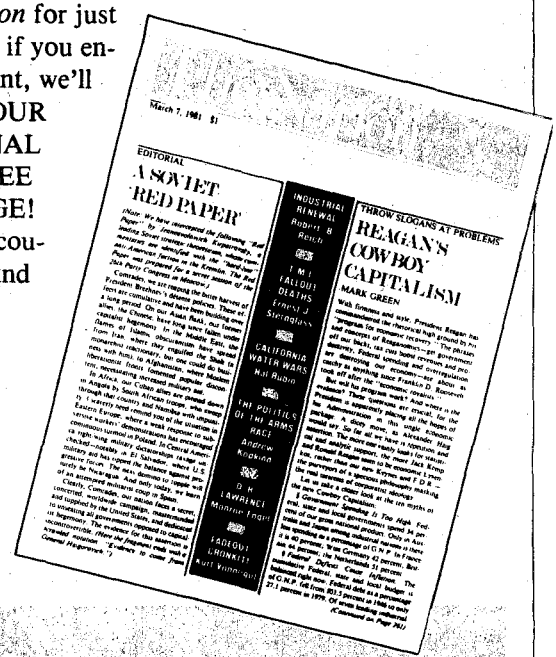
Are you shocked by military budgets that go higher and higher while funding disappears for legal services, health and food programs, and scholarships—in short, the programs which help the poor?

> "Masquerading as prudent economizing in the interest of all Americans suffering from inflation, the Reagan budget's real purposes are ideological, aiming to shift the burden of the society ever more unfairly onto those least able to bear them."
>
> —*Editorial,* The Nation, *April 11, 1981*

If these trends alarm you, read *The Nation*, America's oldest political weekly. Our writers regularly address these issues and many more, writers like Kurt Vonnegut, Frances FitzGerald, E. L. Doctorow, Nicholas von Hoffman, Robert Sherrill, Calvin Trillin and Fred J. Cook, as well as newcomers like Anne Nelson, Tom Ferguson and Joel Rogers, and Christopher Hitchens.

THE NATION is a journal of opinion that arms you with facts.

Now you can try 16 issues of *The Nation* for just $11.95. And if you enclose payment, we'll send you FOUR ADDITIONAL ISSUES FREE OF CHARGE! Fill out the coupon below and send it in today.



P.O. Box 1953, Marion, OH 43305

YES!!! Send me 16 issues of *The Nation* for $11.95, a savings of 25% off the newsstand price. I understand that I may cancel at any time and receive a refund for all unmailed copies.

☐ My payment is enclosed—reward me with FOUR FREE ADDITIONAL ISSUES!

☐ Please bill me later.

NAME _____
(PLEASE PRINT)

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____

Add $3 postage for each foreign subscription. Subscriptions payable in equivalent U.S. funds.

D2221

SEND *THE NATION* TO A FRIEND! (And save $2.)
Please send 16 issues of *The Nation* to the following people at the special gift rate of just $9.95 each. And send a gift card announcing the subscription(s).

GIFT TO _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____

GIFT TO _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____

☐ Enclosed is $ _____ for _____ subscription(s). (Extend each subscription FOUR FREE ISSUES.)

☐ Bill me later.

D2221

ETSU LIBRARY
LICENSED TO UNF FOR ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED